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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED'S TENTH CONGRESS FOREIGN POLICY AIMS ANALYZED

Hamburg AUSSENPOLITIK in German Vol 32, 3rd Quarter 1981 pp 237-250

[Article by Wilhelm Bruns: "Foreign Policy at the 10th SED Congress." A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article cited in footnote 6 is published under the heading, "Axen Analyzes Results, Impact of 26th CPSU Congress," in JPRS 78364, 23 Jun 81, No 1891 of this series, pp 12-20]

[Text] At the 10th SED Congress in April 1981, the main emphasis was on economic problems. However, since the principles, tasks and objectives of the SED are of crucial importance for the GDR, one may also inquire about the results and long-range objectives of the foreign policy pursued by the second German state. In the following article, Dr Wilhelm Bruns--head of the Security and Disarmament Department at the Bonn Research Institute of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung [Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation], lecturer at Bonn University and author of numerous articles and several books on the relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic--examines the SED's foreign policy guidelines. According to Bruns, one must proceed from the three structural principles--proletarian and socialist internationalism, peaceful coexistence and anti-imperialist solidarity--and from the basic statement that "imperialism" alone is to be blamed for the deterioration of the international situation and that only the "really existing socialism" can show the way toward peace. According to this position, improvement of the inner-German relations is contingent on the following: on improvement of the international situation, even though the Basic Treaty provides a special operational framework in regard to the relations between the two German states; on revocation of the NATO Dual Resolution (in the discussion of which the negotiation proposal contained therein is totally ignored); on the consent to a conference on military detente and disarmament such as was proposed in Madrid by Poland (although Poland did not take into consideration any of the other proposals). The GDR claims that on the one hand its foreign policy is based--"without any reservations"--on international law and on the principle of peaceful coexistence and on the other hand on the Basic Treaty, which it "fully" affirms. This contradiction has not been resolved. There are good reasons to assume that the Basic Treaty is to be played down so that demands such as those concerning the

question of citizenship and the problem of the permanent missions--which after all had been settled--can be broached anew.

Every 5 years, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) strikes the balance, establishes the priorities for the next 5 years and promises clear guidelines to the GDR population.

As had been the case at the previous party congresses, at the 10th SED Congress the triad: "results are good"; "analysis is correct"; "prospects are excellent" was the key-note of the Central Committee (ZK) report delivered by Erich Honecker and of the speeches made by the deputies of the Party Congress itself.

Exactly what are the GDR's results in the fields of foreign, security and Germany policy? What assessment of the international situation is the GDR's policy based on? How does the GDR leadership perceive the problems concerning foreign policy and the international arena? What proposals are being made to accomplish the GDR goal of obtaining the "most favorable international conditions for the construction of socialism/communism"? Are there any starting points in regard to new developments in the field of disarmament? And last but not least: Are there any new suggestions and starting points for further development of the inner-German relations?

Before discussing the individual sectors of GDR foreign policy, we will explain why we attach crucial importance to the SED Congress.

SED Is GDR

The 10th SED Congress, which was held in East Berlin from 11 to 16 April 1981, merits our attention for at least three reasons:

- The statements made at the SED Congress, the GDR's "principal Communist forum" (thus the title-page motto of issue No 15/1981 of HORIZONT, a foreign affairs-oriented weekly), establish the GDR's domestic, economic and foreign policy targets for the next 5 years.
- The objectives of the SED are more than just the views of a party; they are equally binding for the GDR, for SED congresses are admittedly "milestones" for the "entire social development" of the GDR (this was the tenor of all speeches before and during the Party Congress). "The Party--guiding force of our society"--this headline in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (ND) (24 Apr 81, p 2) reflects the SED's self-image and the actual situation in the GDR.
- It is the SED's pretension that arrests our attention: In his closing speech, Erich Honecker stated the Party Congress had "clearly mapped out" the course to be followed by the GDR. Foreign Minister Fischer claimed that the SED was facing up to the "basic problems of our time," that it was tackling these problems "competently and resolutely, thus providing clear guidelines in all situations" (ND, 14 Apr 81, p 6).

There is no doubt that GDR foreign policy is one of the prerogatives of the SED. This statement need not even be empirically substantiated: it is sanctioned by the GDR constitution (Article 1.1) and can be considered constitutional reality: "The principles, objectives and tasks of our foreign policy are worked out by the SED, the leading power in the GDR, which also organizes their implementation."¹

According to an authoritative GDR definition, foreign policy comprises "both the state's principles, tasks and objectives in the field of international relations with other states, groups of states, public and private international organizations and movements and the means and methods of their implementation."²

The question is: Did the 10th SED Congress point out new developments, new viewpoints in regard to the principles, tasks and objectives of the GDR's foreign policy?

The GDR's foreign policy is determined by three structural principles:

- by the structural principle of "proletarian and socialist internationalism" (operative within the "socialist community" on both the national level and the party level);
- by the structural principle of "peaceful coexistence" (operative in the relations with the capitalist states);
- by the structural principle of "anti-imperialist solidarity" (supposed to be operative in the relations with the Third World).

These structural principles are articulated in Article 6 of the GDR constitution.³

The SED's Analysis and Assessment

The SED Leadership

The Central Committee report, which was delivered by Erich Honecker in a 5-hour speech and which was declared a resolution by the Party Congress, consists of seven main parts.⁴ We will concentrate here on the parts dealing with foreign policy and international problems, albeit only for considerations of space, for a separation of foreign and domestic (economic) policy is rejected as arbitrary not only by the SED.

Erich Honecker presented the GDR as a state, which had "demonstrated its political stability," increased its "economic capacities" and proved "a cornerstone of peace in Europe."

What proposals concerning peace, disarmament and Germany policy has the "cornerstone of peace in Europe" advanced for solving the numerous problems?

Characteristic of the SED's analysis are two points that ran like a red thread not only through Honecker's report, but through all of the speeches delivered before, at and after the Party Congress:

- It is imperialism that is solely responsible for the "considerable" deterioration of the international situation (formula: "most aggressive forces of imperialism" or "powerful circles of the monopoly capital").
- It is only the "really existing socialism" that through its position and proposals shows the road toward peace, for: "Socialism and peace are identical" (Honecker).

Proceeding from this one-sided attribution of the blame and the alleged guarantee of peace by the "really existing socialism," the SED considers it self-evident that the international relations can be improved only if "imperialism" changes its conduct. Concretely, this means:

- revocation of the "Brussels Missile Resolution" (i.e. NATO's Dual Resolution of 12 December 1979).
- acceptance of the "consistent, clear peace concept" of the USSR (i.e. the five proposals advanced by Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress).⁵
- the Federal Republic of Germany must accept "without any reservations" the existence of "two mutually independent, sovereign states adhering to different social systems" (Honecker).
- NATO must accept the proposals advanced by the Warsaw Pact at the Vienna MBFR talks and the proposals concerning convocation of a CSCE disarmament conference in Madrid.

The struggle of all "peace-loving forces" is directed against imperialism, which "with its aggressiveness, its unpredictability and its striving for hegemony" is and remains "a danger and a threat" to the nations (Honecker).

The SED leadership, which portrays the international situation in a way suggesting that presently the crucial issue is that of war and peace and that disarmament is the overriding concern of our time, has failed--its great pretensions notwithstanding--to introduce any peace initiatives or disarmament-oriented proposals. In its role as "cornerstone of peace in Europe," it has restricted itself to repeating the latest proposals of Brezhnev--advanced at the 26th CPSU Congress--which the GDR supports "in their entirety" (Honecker).⁶

In this regard, just one thing should be noted: It is not the USSR proposals as such, but the timing and the numerous open questions connected with the proposals that rule out acceptance under the present conditions (this applies to two of the five proposals, namely the moratorium proposal in regard to nuclear medium-range weapons in Europe and the proposal concerning the confidence-inspiring measures).

The armament dynamics are not analyzed; rather, the complexity--conceded even by the GDR--is reduced to the "imperialist arms race" and here in particular to the "Brussels Missile Resolution." Not even this dual resolution of NATO is analyzed, even though it is a primary concern of Honecker's--and of the other speakers as well (especially of the GDR's minister of defense, Heinz Hoffmann). The negotiation component was completely ignored. Prominent GDR experts claim--again without sufficient analysis--that "in the concrete policies pursued by its originators the alleged dual resolution" rests "only on the armaments prop. The negotiation prop--unpopular anyhow--appears to have been amputated a long time ago."⁷

The sharp attacks on the policy pursued by the West, which are characterized by one-sided attribution of the blame and by the claim that only the "really existing socialism" desires peace and detente, are not the result of a reproducible analysis: this claim is made apodictically. It does not rest on an empirical foundation; rather, it is derived from the "essence" of imperialism and socialism.

On the CSCE Process

To "bring about a change of course toward disarmament" (Honecker) in the 1980's, convocation of an "all-European conference on military detente and disarmament" would be "of great benefit." Honecker stated that the proposal submitted by Poland at the Madrid CSCE--which was "in its entirety" supported by the GDR--could be a "good foundation." In this respect, one should note the following: Regarding the European Disarmament Conference, which is supported by all of the 35 CSCE states, there are six--in part well-articulated--proposals. One of these is the proposal advanced by Poland. The most detailed proposal is the one advanced by France; this proposal also has the advantage of having been submitted ahead of all others. The Polish proposal is characterized by vagueness. It contains only two concrete suggestions: The conference is to begin on 21 October 1981 in Warsaw. The proposal leaves open all agenda-related questions.

Even though GDR writers have reported frequently--albeit selectively--on the CSCE, they have not discussed the detailed proposals advanced by the West, above all the proposal made by France. Such a discussion is imperative, however; and the preference given to the Polish proposal appears to be quite arbitrary. Moreover, the Polish proposal was not supported by any of the Warsaw Pact states. Romania submitted a proposal of its own.

Inner-German Relations

In the report delivered by Honecker and in the comments made by Fischer and Naumann, much attention was directed to the relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany. As is well known, the GDR does not consider this subject to be part of Germany policy; rather, it classifies its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany under "peaceful coexistence," the structural principle governing its foreign policy.

Prior to the 10th SED Congress, certain phenomena and developments in the inner-German relations gave rise to questions that the Party Congress was supposed to answer. Let us recall some of these phenomena and developments:

First and foremost, one must mention Erich Honecker's Gera speech, which was delivered on 13 October 1980 and which Honecker--in his speech at the Party Congress--elevated to the rank of a speech concerned with fundamentals. The Gera speech revolved around four demands addressed to the Federal Republic of Germany: "recognition of GDR citizenship"; "abolition of the so-called 'Central Registration Center' at Salzgitter"; speedy "settlement of the course of the border on the Elbe River in accordance with international law"; conversion of the permanent missions into embassies and exchange of ambassadors ("which is in accordance with international law").⁸

The novelty here was not the demand for recognition of GDR citizenship (on 17 December 1980, Stoph referred before the GDR People's Chamber to "respect" instead of "recognition," which is more than a mere nuance) or the demand for abolition of the Salzgitter Registration Center. It was the following two aspects that were new in these demands:

--Honecker declared the fulfillment of these status demands to be the "inalienable" precondition for further steps toward normalization of the inner-German relations. Subsequently, the GDR gradually abandoned this position.

--The second and most serious aspect: Whereas the first three demands can be reconciled with the Basic Treaty, the key document of inner-German relations, the fourth demand gives rise to the question whether the GDR still accepts the Basic Treaty as an operational framework, for Article 8 of the Basic Treaty merely refers to Permanent Representatives--and for good reasons. This demand differs from the others in that it expressly calls into question an entire article of the Basic Treaty.

It was the Gera speech--not the drastic minimum exchange rate increase of 13 October 1980 which is practically irreconcilable with the intent of the by- and multi-lateral agreements--that caused the break in the inner-German relations.

The GDR leadership became more and more insistent in demanding of the Federal Government not to restrict the inner-German relations "merely" to facilitation of travel, but to give priority in the inner-German talks to the problems concerning disarmament and maintenance of peace.⁹

At the East Berlin Conference of Bezirk Deputies on 15 February 1981, Erich Honecker had spoken of the "unification" of the two German states--albeit in the sense of a "threat," for such a unification would be effected under communist auspices.

At the 1981 Leipzig Spring Fair, Honecker stated the difficulties in regard to East-West relations should not be allowed to affect the inner-German relations. West German visitors to the fair stated unanimously that the SED leadership appeared to be interested in improving its relations with the Federal Republic of Germany. Upon his visit to Leipzig, the mayor of Hamburg, Hans-U. Klose, even felt that "something is afoot" in inner-German relations; he pointed out, however, that this was contingent on resisting the "temptation to interconnect all problems on a conditional basis" (quoted from the SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG, 18 Mar 81, p 22).

At relatively short intervals, Erich Honecker met with Bonn's representative in the GDR, Klaus Boelling (on 15 and 18 March 1981); in this regard, it should be noted that in the past talks between Honecker and Boelling's predecessor, Guenter Gaus, frequently signaled new rounds of negotiation. Thus these meetings can be considered a promising sign.

In this constellation of observations and developments, one must also include the much-discussed (in the GDR as well) interview of Guenter Gaus by the weekly DIE ZEIT (30 Jan 81, pp 3 ff), in which Gaus warned against overusing the concept of nation and urged the Federal Republic to come up with a more adequate GDR image.

From Gera to the 10th Party Congress

How was this inner-German constellation reflected by the 10th SED Congress? What answers were given here?

For the second time, the GDR had an opportunity to sum up the results of its German policy after the conclusion of the Basic Treaty. And again it became apparent that for the GDR leadership the key document of inner-German relations, the Basic Treaty, is not the primary point of reference: the GDR draws on two other elements of support--"international law" and "peaceful coexistence."

Honecker held that insofar as the two German states could come to an agreement on peaceful coexistence and develop their relations in accordance with international law, the inner-German relations could be expected to make progress. But precisely this is the crucial point: by mutual agreement, there was established between the two German states an operational framework, namely the Basic Treaty. So one could say: To the extent--and only to that extent--that the Basic Treaty is put into practice and becomes an integral part of the policies pursued by the two partners, the goal of establishing good neighborly relations between the two German states can become a reality.

Both the speech of Honecker and that of the GDR foreign minister contained friendly notes. Honecker stated that "We have always been prepared constructively to contribute to the development of normal, even neighborly relations between the GDR and the FRG" (in Article 1 of the Basic Treaty, the two German states pledged to develop "normal, neighborly relations"). Oskar Fischer stated the GDR was prepared "to complement the network of contractually secured, coexistence-oriented relations by further, mutually advantageous agreements." Upon closer examination, however, it turns out that such declarations of intent are coupled with considerable qualifications: The GDR holds that

- 1) as long as the international situation--from which the inner-German relations cannot be "isolated" (Honecker)--remains so critical, it will be impossible to improve the relations between the GDR and the FRG;
- 2) as long as the Federal Government promotes "NATO rearmament," "concrete conditions" are created that impede further normalization of the inner-German relations and that "jeopardize the results hitherto attained" (Honecker);
- 3) the "adherence to revanchist doctrines asserting continuance of the German Reich within the borders of 1937," which Honecker calls "anachronistic and dangerous" and which--he feels--is influencing the policy of the Federal Government and blocking further progress.

A comparison with the months following the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan is instructive: Whereas until the summer of 1980 the inner-German relations were surprisingly good /in spite of/ [words in slantlines printed in italics] the considerable deterioration of the international atmosphere--with the GDR intimating that it was interested in more intensive contacts with the Federal Government--today it is alleged that progress in regard to inner-German relations is impossible /on account of/ [words in slantlines printed in italics] the unfavorable international situation.

In this connection, one should also point out a flagrant contradiction in the GDR's position concerning inner-German relations: Honecker's declaration of readiness (see above) is valid only if both German states accept "without any reservations" the existence of two mutually independent, sovereign states. "The relations

between them can only be based on peaceful coexistence." Relations with the Federal Republic of Germany just like with any other capitalist state? A few passages later, both the Party and the GDR Government "fully affirm" the contractual foundations of inner-German cooperation. Without analyzing and formulating this in detail,¹⁰ one can say: Either the inner-German relations are relations "without any reservations"--such as those between the GDR and France or (as the GDR claims) those between the GDR and Austria; or the relations are governed by the "full affirmation" statement. The Basic Treaty (the mere construction of this treaty with all its appendices shows the "special nature" of the inner-German relations) contains sufficient explicit reservations that were accepted by the GDR and thus became part of the operational framework of inner-German relations--e.g. the Four-Power Reservation, the reservation concerning the national question and, last but not least, the "reservation in regard to questions pertaining to citizenship."

The contradiction or--at any rate--inherent tension: Demanding "relations not subject to any reservations" ("peaceful coexistence"), one cannot at the same time "fully affirm" the Basic Treaty. At this point in Honecker's speech, it becomes apparent that for the GDR the Basic Treaty is not the primary point of reference. For according to Honecker, "peaceful coexistence" is "based on the principles of international law that were laid down in the European treaties, in the UN Charter and also in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference." In this list, which is supposed to be the "basis" of inner-German relations, where is the Basic Treaty?

In the opinion of the present writer, it is instructive that Honecker did not again mention and declare as inalienable the four status demands raised in his Gera speech of 13 October 1980, even though he elevated the Gera speech to the rank of a basic declaration so as to "define" the GDR's position "for both the present and the future." So the Gera speech and--consequently--the four status demands addressed to the Federal Republic of Germany are still valid. As was learned from press reports, the GDR has now presented the Federal Republic with a "list" containing a number of "facts that the GDR considers infringements of its national sovereignty, which was recognized in the Basic Treaty."¹¹ Included here is the demand for abolition of the Salzgitter Central Registration Center, which records offenses committed at the GDR border, and the demand for settlement of the course of the border in the middle of the Elbe River between Lauenburg and Schnackenburg.

Schmidt and Honecker

It is worthwhile to compare two statements that were made at about the same time: the Federal Chancellor's address of 9 April 1981 concerning the state of the nation in divided Germany and Honecker's speech of 11 April 1981, delivered at the 10th Party Congress in East Berlin. Even though the "common aspects" should not be overrated, we will point out--by means of a synopsis--a four-point consensus:

Helmut Schmidt, addressing the Bundestag [Lower House] on 9 April 1981:

"The more intensive the relations between East and West, the better the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union--the better for us Germans."

Erich Honecker, addressing the 10th Party Congress on 11 April 1981:

"Nor do we dream of the possibility to maintain good relations with the Federal Republic of Germany, one of the strongest NATO states, if the relations between the

United States and the USSR become aggravated as a result of an unpredictable, confrontation-oriented policy on the part of the United States."

"Both German states must see to it that the relations they maintain with each other do not create any additional burdens for East-West relations."

"The Federal Republic of Germany belongs to the West."

"It is our geographical and historical situation in particular that imposes on us the obligation to preserve peace. Not as illusionary pacifism, but as an obligation to pursue a concrete policy."

Quoted from: BULLETIN (Press and Information Service of the Federal Government), No 36, 10 Apr 81.

"We proceed from the assumption that in regard to this crucial problem the development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG is of great importance not only for the two states, but also for the overall situation in Europe."

"To prevent any misunderstandings—we do not intend to undermine the relations the Federal Republic maintains with its allies, above all with the United States."

"Our primary objective—also in regard to our policy vis-a-vis the FRG—is to serve the cause of peace and to create the conditions insuring lasting peace. Only that which promotes peace benefits the people in the two German states and all of the nations of our continent."

Quoted from: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 12 Apr 81.

On the 1971 Four-Power Agreement on Berlin

Regarding Erich Honecker's comments on the Berlin complex, two aspects merit attention:

--Firstly, he places Berlin within the framework of inner-German relations.

--Secondly, in urging the parties concerned to refrain from "subjecting to a stress test" the Four-Power Agreement of 1971, he includes the GDR.

He reiterates a well-known GDR position, namely that according to the agreement's "core provision" Berlin (West) is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and must not be governed by it. The qualifying designation of the agreement as a "Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin (West)" does not come as a surprise; but it is worthy of note that Honecker repeats the complete formula of "strict observance" and "full implementation" of the agreement, for several GDR comments on the Berlin Agreement mentioned only the "strict observance" and this admonition was addressed exclusively to the Federal Republic of Germany.

As a criterion for any GDR agreement with West Berlin (!), Honecker points to the "benefit for the permanent residents of Berlin (West)." "But very harmful are the increasing attempts--attempts violating the Quadripartite Agreement--to treat Berlin (West) as a state of the FRG and even to draw it into the orbit of NATO

policy." He does not identify the elements supposedly at variance with the Quadripartite Agreement of 1971, nor does he specify the regulations violated by certain "attempts" criticized in the GDR press.

On the GDR's UN Policy

Not without pride, Erich Honecker stated that the GDR was a "member of the UN and of the UN's special organizations"; but he did not comment on the GDR's UN policy. Besides, the reference to affiliation with the UN "and its special organizations" as evidence of the fact that the GDR occupies an "equal and respected position" in international politics is misleading or at least apt to give rise to misunderstandings.

For it has been demonstrated in a comprehensive study¹² that while the GDR enjoys "equal rights" in the UN system, it does /not/ feel it has equal /obligations/ [words in slantlines printed in italics]. The GDR is not represented in half of the special organizations and the half it does not belong to includes important--especially for the Third World--special organizations such as the FAO, which incidentally is the largest special organization (over 150 member states).

The policy of selective membership includes the policy of restricted collaboration in the organizations with which the GDR is affiliated. Thus the GDR consistently sidesteps the material contributions that are earmarked for the Third World and that would ensue from the /equal rights/ (especially in regard to the FRG) as an /obligation/ [words in slantlines printed in italics].

Four "Priority" Objectives of GDR Foreign Policy

Exactly what are the GDR's foreign policy objectives for the 1980's? In his report to the 10th SED Congress, Erich Honecker stated that for "the coming years" the SED has formulated four "priority" objectives (ND, 12 Apr 81, p 5):

- Systematic consolidation of the fraternal alliance with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community on the basis of the friendship agreements concluded. Orientation toward overall strengthening of socialism and intensification of its international influence through further development and utilization of the advantages offered by it.
- Steadfast, persistent work toward preservation of peace, toward termination of the arms race with the object of defending and extending political detente and above all stabilizing it and making it irrevocable by means of measures pertaining to military detente and disarmament.
- Active anti-imperialist solidarity with all peoples fighting for their national and social liberation. Development of multifaceted cooperation with the states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Support of the struggle for a new international economic order based on equality.
- Consistent efforts toward developing relations of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist countries. Intensification of the contacts and agreements with the object of consolidating the cooperation in the interest of peace and mutual benefit and thwarting the confrontation-oriented policy of the aggressive circles.

The above sequence denotes an order of priority. The primary objective is and remains the "systematic consolidation" of the relations within the "fraternal alliance," above all with the USSR. Perhaps it is worth noting that it is not "proletarian internationalism" or "socialist internationalism," but the "friendship agreements concluded" that are named as the "basis" for such a consolidation. To be sure, there is no friendship agreement between the GDR and the states of the "socialist community" (with the exception of Romania) that does not contain the formula of "socialist internationalism."

The second objective reiterates well-known GDR positions concerning "complementation of political detente by military detente" and "irrevocability" of political detente. Here one is struck by the absence of specifics: In this connection, one would have expected the SED to champion the "Conference on Military Detente and Disarmament in Europe" demanded by the Warsaw Pact. In regard to implementation of this objective, one would have expected the SED to advocate continuation of the CSCE process. In view of the absence of any concretization, it appears safe to assume that the SED is very insecure in regard to the prospects for implementation of its proposals and that it is skeptical in regard to acceptance of the proposals by the states in both East and West.

The third objective--the affirmation of "anti-imperialist solidarity" with the peoples fighting for their liberation and of cooperation with the developing countries (thus there are two addressees)--likewise called for concretization and particulars. The stated objective--"new international economic order" is too vague to serve as an operational guideline and to be appreciated by the developing countries.

Regarding the fourth objective: The GDR does not expressly promise to extend its relations with the Western states, including the Federal Republic of Germany, on the "basis of the agreements concluded" or on the basis of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. Admittedly, the GDR's objective is peaceful coexistence; however, neither in the East Treaties nor in the Berlin Agreement nor in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference did the states commit themselves to this objective--and there were good reasons for this.

By committing itself to "peaceful coexistence," the GDR reserves to itself the option of defending as compatible cooperation (wherever it seems advisable) and "ideological class struggle" or demarcation (wherever it appears necessary). This commitment to the structural principle of "peaceful coexistence" also restricts the "intensification of contacts and agreements" to inter-governmental relations, for--as the GDR has openly stated--"peaceful coexistence" applies only to the inter-governmental level. As regards the last sentence of the Fourth Objective--"for the coming years"--the SED has taken up again the older Two-Policies Theorem originated in 1974: The peace-oriented policy pursued by the communist states is confronted with the war-oriented policy pursued by the aggressive circles of imperialism; the "consistent efforts toward consolidation of relations based on peaceful coexistence" are faced with the "confrontation-oriented policy of the aggressive circles." This is also an implicit comment on the role of the two German states.

The GDR's above-described foreign policy objectives can be characterized as follows:

--The objectives are vague. It is only the increasingly intensive relations with the USSR that are unequivocal--even in regard to their concrete form. All the other objectives are ill defined and open to any number of interpretations.

--The vagueness is especially striking when one compares these four objectives with the GDR's concrete five-point foreign policy program adopted at the Eighth Party Congress in 1971 (here the GDR wanted to contribute to the "successful implementation" of the European Security Conference, to join the "United Nations as an equal member," to "establish diplomatic relations with all states," to "establish normal relations--based on international law--with the FRG" and to contribute "to the normalization of the relations with West Berlin"). These operational objectives were amenable to reexamination, and this was done at the Ninth Party Congress.¹³ To be sure, the Ninth Party Congress (1976) formulated merely three "primary foreign policy objectives" (ND, 19 May 76, p 5), which have now grown into four objectives, with hardly any differences being detectable between 1976 and 1981.

--The SED did not translate the stated "primary" objectives (which incidentally are listed in Article 6 of the GDR constitution of 1974) into tasks and steps "for the coming years"; thus it did not indicate exactly what must be done to attain the objectives.

At any rate, according to the heading of a lengthy commentary in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND (21 Apr 81, pp 1 ff), the SED considers itself "a source of strength and a compass." In view of this vagueness, however, the compass character of this program appears to be questionable. "The course for the 1980's has been mapped out by the 10th Party Congress" (ibid.). At best, this is true of the 10 points of the economic program. The GDR's foreign policy for the next few years lacks precisely what is claimed in the source of strength- and compass-commentary (see above): "The precise designation of all important intermediate goals...."

Conclusion

Analysis of the 10th SED Congress yields the following results:

--As regards foreign, security and Germany policy, there are no new viewpoints, proposals or concrete long-range plans.

--It can be considered an economic congress, an event tailored to the requirements of Erich Honecker. An appropriate label would be "congress for preserving the status quo."

--The statement that in regard to foreign policy this party congress was not fruitful on account of the absence of new ideas and suggestions is not necessarily negative. After all, this 10th Party Congress was oriented toward consolidation. One must take into consideration that in terms of foreign policy the 1970's were a successful decade for the GDR, a decade distinguished by numerous premieres for the second German state.¹⁴ The 1980's are unlikely to become another such decade. The speech of the GDR's foreign minister, who promised to pursue a "long-range, calculable and prudent policy" (ND, 14 Apr 81, p 6), was indicative of the desire to maintain a high degree of continuity and calculability.

Calculability of the GDR's foreign policy and its course vis-a-vis the FRG would be very advantageous to us. However, calculability--which apparently is desired by the GDR leadership as well--is contingent upon the efficacy of the factors governing the development of the GDR. Among these factors, it is above all the USSR as

the key element, the East-West relations and--last not least--the domestic situation in the GDR that are of crucial significance.

FOOTNOTES

1. Harry Ott, "On the Class Character of GDR Foreign Policy," *DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK*, Vol 17, No 3, 1972, pp 421-430.
2. Quoted from: "Woerterbuch der Aussenpolitik und des Voelkerrechts" [Dictionary of Foreign Policy and International Law], East Berlin, 1980, p 65.
3. See Wilhelm Bruns, "Socialist Foreign Policy or GDR Foreign Policy? Observations on Some Basic Problems Concerning GDR Foreign Policy," *PARLAMENT*, Suppl., B/1977.
4. For the most part, the evaluation is based on the speeches published in *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND* (ND), 12 Apr 81 ff. Honecker's speech was published in ND, 12 Apr 81.
5. See the analysis by Boris Meissner, "Foreign Policy at the CPSU Congress," *AUSSENPOLITIK* No 2, 1981, pp 129-144.
6. In his laudatory article on the 26th CPSU Congress, the "secret" foreign minister of the GDR, Hermann Axen, merely reported on the Soviet proposals, without dealing in the least with the questions raised by the West; see *EINHEIT*, Vol 36, No 4/5, 1981, pp 332-339.
7. Stefan Doernberg (chairman of the GDR Scientific Council for Foreign Policy Research), "The Peace-Oriented Strategy of the Community of Socialist States," *DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK*, No 4, 1981, pp 7-25; here p 20.
8. Reprinted in: *AUSSENPOLITISCHE KORRESPONDENZ* (GDR), No 42, 1980, pp 345-350.
9. Honecker in Gera; see also Honecker's reply--in an interview with the British publisher Maxwell (ND, 13 Feb 81, pp 3 ff)--to the question in what fields Honecker saw "prospects of further contractual agreements between the two German states." The GDR's first man mentioned "above all efforts toward peace and disarmament."
10. See Wilhelm Bruns, "Deutsch-deutsche Beziehungen. Praemissen, Probleme, Perspektiven" [Inner-German Relations. Premises, Problems, Prospects], 2nd ed., Opladen, 1979.
11. See the extensive report in *FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU*, 21 Apr 81, pp 1 ff ("The GDR wants more respect").
12. Wilhelm Bruns, "Die Uneinigen in den Vereinten Nationen. Bundesrepublik Deutschland und DDR in der UNO" [The Disputants in the United Nations. Federal Republic of Germany and GDR in the UN], Cologne, 1980.

13. See Karl-Wilhelm Fricke, "The 10th SED Congress," DEUTSCHLAND-ARCHIV, Vol 9, No 6, 1976, pp 561-564.
Wilhelm Bruns, "GDR Foreign Policy at the 10th SED Congress," DIE NEUE GESELLSCHAFT, No 8, 1976, pp 674-678.
14. This decade is documented--on the eve of the 10th SED Congress--from the GDR's point of view in HORIZONT, a weekly reflecting the views of the GDR Foreign Ministry; HORIZONT, No 13, 1981, pp 8 ff; No 14, 1981, pp 7 ff; No 15, 1981, pp 4-7.

8760

CSO: 2300/279

NAVY RECEIVES NEW TYPE OF SUBMARINE CHASER

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 24 No 8, Aug 81 pp 432-434

[Article by Siegfried Breyer: "'BAL-COM-4'" Further New Development of Warsaw Pact Naval Forces--GDR 'People's Navy' Receives New Generation of Submarine Chaser"]

[Text] Since approximately 1978/79, a new production of submarine chaser has been under construction in the Peene Shipyard in Solgast, which is reserved almost exclusively for the building of warships and special ships. This new production has been classified by NATO under the "BAL-COM-4" designation ("BAL-COM" is a name which NATO has created for newly developed warships of the Warsaw Pact navies in the Baltic area. This stands for "Baltic Combattant," i.e. "Baltic (surface) warship." The nuclear powered FK cruiser "Kirov" appeared under "BAL-COM-1," while the FK destroyer of the SOVREMENNY J and the UDALOY classes ran under "BAL-COM-2" and "BAL-COM-3," respectively). The GDR press reported recently the introduction of one of them, probably of the class ship. It is named after a small town in Mecklenburg, Parchin. (Until now this had been the name of the test ship, which was classified by NATO as belonging to the HAI-II class, and which represents a precursor of the HAI-III class submarine chasers called "Antisubmarine ships." If this ship has not been taken out of service, it is likely to have a different name and designation now.) According to GDR press reports, the ship was delivered to the People's Navy on 6 April, and it was placed into service on 9 April.

This new class--which on occasion had also been reported under the Koralie class--is apparently designed to be the successor to the HAI-III class built in the 1960's. HAI-III class ships obviously had several deficiencies, especially in engine design as evidenced by the repeated changes which were made in the beginning in the air intake shaft (often unjustifiably called the chimney).

Compared to the HAI-III class, the newly built ships are clearly larger, as can be seen from the Comparative Table of Figures. A total of 14 additional meters in length corresponds to a 27-percent increase, and the water displacement--with maximal equipment--has doubled. The parameters of the considerably larger hull--length 40 m, width 9 to 10 m, and central side height at least 6 m, which means an expected displacement of approximately 800 tons, indicate an essential increase in time at sea, sea worthiness and handling in rough seas, as opposed to the HAI-III class.

Its fineness ration--the value which is the result of the ratio between length and width (both measured in the construction water line)--must be estimated at

approximately 7.2. This is a little less than in the HAI-III ships, which, however, also have a different engine system, a 3-wave COD06 system consisting of 2 Diesel engines and one gas turbine of 3,500 kW (4,800 hp) and 7,350 kW (10,000 hp), respectively, for at least 25 knots. The "BAL-COM-4" class units have a system which consists exclusively of Diesel engines and works on 2 or 3 waves. Its total power is estimated at 11,000 to 14,700 kW (corresponding to 15,000 to 20,000 hp), if its speed is within the range of the HAI-III class.

These new submarine chasers are armed exclusively with systems of Soviet construction:

- 4 (short) individual tubes for 400 mm submarine chaser torpedoes, arranged in twos, one behind the other, diverging by approximately 14 degrees out of the ship's longitudinal axis onto the side deck.
- 2 RBU-6000 submarine chaser rocket launcher groups next to each other at a distance of a few meters on the superstructure deck in front of the bridge represent the primary armament. The following are defensive weapons:
- One 57 mm L/80 antiaircraft twin tower on the quarterdeck.
- One 30 mm L/65 antiaircraft twin on a deckhigh superstructure (it is probably the ammunition chamber which belongs to it) in front of the superstructure deck, and
- 2 installations for SA-N-5 short-range ship-to-air missiles, positioned midships at the rear of the front superstructure deck.

The SA-N-5 is a "navalized" weapons system of the mobile Strela troop antiaircraft system, which has been used by the Soviet armed forces for years, and which is classified as SA-7 and called GRAIL by NATO. Here, these are gathered in starter groups of 4 and stored at 360° around a rotating prism. This weapons system, which is not very heavy, and does not take up much space, is suitable for engaging slow and/or low flying planes and helicopters, because guidance to the target occurs with the help of an infrared homing device.

These units can also lay mines. For this purpose they are equipped with 2 casting ramps on the stern, and with transport tracks on the side decks, which apparently reach beyond midships.

On electronics--in the most far-reaching sense--there is the following:

- One STRUT CURVE-circular search radar,
- One navigational radar of the TSR production manufactured in the GDR,
- 2 WATCH DOG sensor systems as passive ECM, and
- One HIGH POLE-B answer antenna of the IFF installation. (ECM and IFF are terms from electronic warfare, and stand for "electronic countermeasure" and "Identification friend-foe"), all on top of, i.e. at the main mast over the bridge; and

-- One MUFF COB weapon guidance device on a medium high beam of the rear superstructure complex.

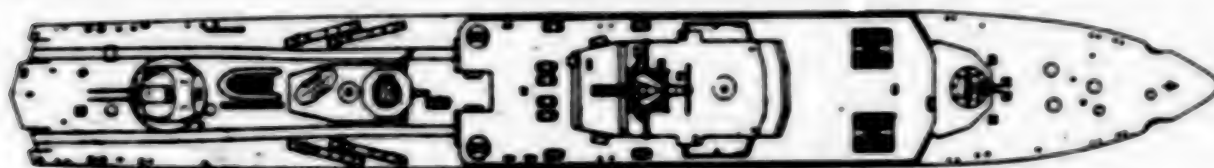
In addition there are two 16-tube chaff stick launchers, 1 starbords behind the bridge superstructure, the other probably on the opposite side. The presence of a hull sonar must also be assumed.

The outer form of these new warships was undoubtedly greatly influenced by two components: optimal sea properties, and the engine. The former can be seen by the shape of the smooth-deck hull, with a deck spring so pronounced that the freebord elevation at the bow is easily twice that at the stern. Openings for exhaust on both sides of the hull right behind midships indicate the exclusive use of Diesel engines. These openings permitted the elimination of a chimney, adversely affecting the total picture: the lack of a chimney gives the impression of a certain incompleteness, similar to that found in the Spanish frigates of the ATREVIDA class from the 1950's, to which the "BAL-COM-4" is quite similar in other ways and in its main calibrations.

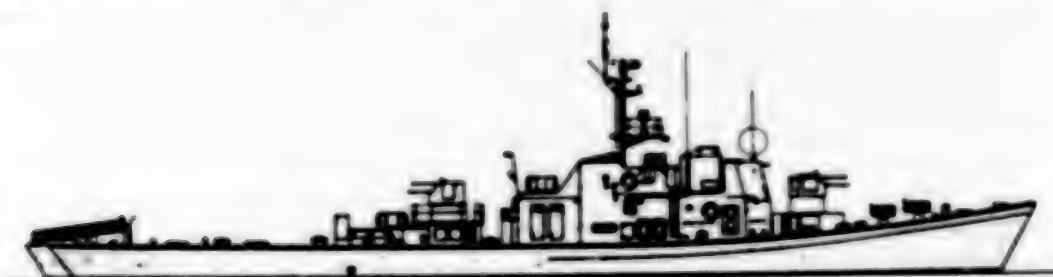
Presently there are 6 ships of this new class, but it is considered possible that there will be twice as many, in order to fill the void threatened by the imminent elimination of the HAI-III submarine chaser.

Comparative Table of Figures

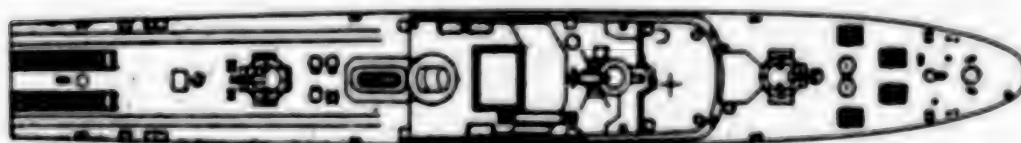
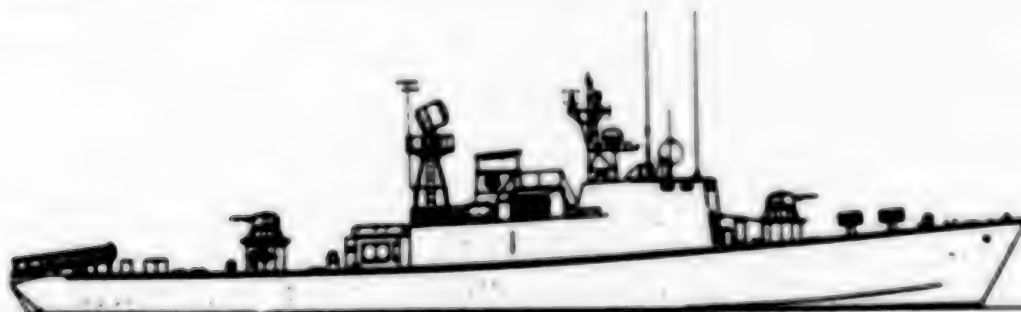
	HAI-III Class	BAL-COM 4 Class
Standard displacement, tons	350	?
Operative displacement, tons	400	app. 800
Overall length, meters	56.00	app. 70.00
Width, meters	6.20	app. 8.00-10.00
Draft, meters	2.40	app. 3.50
Driving system	CODOG	engines
Engines	2 Diesel engines 1 gas turbine	2 or 3 Diesel engines
Number of propellers	3	2 or 3
Propulsive output, kW(hp)	3,500 (4,800) and 7,350 (10,000)	11,00 to 14,700 (15,000 to 20,000)
Speed, knots	25.0 +	25.0 +
Range (nautical miles/knots)	1,000/18	?
Crew	28 men	?
Armament	2x230 mm antiaircraft canons in twin towers 4 RBU-1,200 submarine chaser rocket launchers 2 depth charge ramps mines	1x257 mm L/80 antiaircraft canon 1x230 mm L/65 antiaircraft canon 4 individual torpedo tubes 2 groups of SA-N-5 ship-air FK starters 2 RBN-6000 rocket launchers Mines



BALCOM-4



HAJ-4



HAJ-8

9320
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STUDENTS CRITICIZED FOR BAD BEHAVIOR, VANDALISM

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 30 Jul 81 p 6

[Letter to the editors from Academician Eugen A. Pora]

[Text] I would never have believed that I would actually see that there is also a "pedagogic pollution." I can find no other term for what I saw in the lodge in Valea de Pesti, located on the West Jiu at the foot of Retezat, where there is so much beauty, peace and quiet. As a teacher for more than 50 years, I was shocked by this appalling phenomenon and concerned because it has lasting effects and involves the very future of some youths.

I think the building in Valea de Pesti (Why not "with fish"?) is the most beautiful mountain lodge in Romania. Located on a plot above the reservoir lake with a splendid view of the peaks of Retezat, it brings to our landscape the style of the Swiss chalets. With concrete walls and studs that imitate the texture of fir wood, each room is picturesquely isolated from the other by balconies and wavy shingled roofs. With its four stories of 20 rooms each with installations for running water (hot and cold?) and electric current (without adequate lights) and sanitary installations, as well as a spacious ballroom and a large dining room on the ground floor, all designed by the highest standard of civilisation, it is unique.

In July the lodge is not yet heavily frequented. But it too has a production plan! And in order to fulfill it pupils' excursions are accepted from many centers in Romania. There are often three or four buses (BTT's) in front of the building, each with an average of 40 pupils and three or four teachers. The loaded buses arrive by a road about 2 km long and full of stones that destroy many tires (The cost of the damage is surely more than it would cost to asphalt that road!). They reach the destination at 4:00 or 5:00 PM. The children eat supper there, sleep, eat breakfast the next day, and then leave for another lodge at 10:00 AM. What can these children see except the daily routes (Do they see them?) and the lodges where they sleep? I wonder if such an excursion is justified and if the money spent on the bus, meals and shelter yields any educational return. Personally I do not think so! The pupils' excursions to know the country should be organized differently.

On the night of 11-12 June 1981 a festive dinner was arranged at the lodge for the graduates of the Petrosani Industrial High School, presided over and supervised by the chemistry teacher, who was also these youths' classroom teacher (I do not mention

the name for the time being!). They came by turns in a workers transport bus. Some of the organizers were first to arrive, and then the "orchestra," consisting of saxophones, trumpets, a harmonica and a drum. The other graduates arrived in another bus and finally the classroom teacher with her husband and one more adult (probably also a teacher). They were cordially received and "Gaudeamus" was sung as required. All were happy and joyful as befits youths who are now entering upon life, and it was a pleasure to see them. But the party began at 9:00 PM in the party room of the lodge, where dinner was served and there was dancing. The sounds that now issued from the lodge were over 120 decibels and the "music" was heard for many kilometers around. I am sure all the bears on Retezat will remember those sounds like howls of the kind made by redskins attacking an enemy. They certainly could not be called songs. They were horrible, loud outcries of tormented people. And all this "party" behavior was in the presence and hearing of the classroom teacher and other teaching personnel. I consider it vandalism sponsored and encouraged by a teacher! It was a veritable demonstration of how our youth of today should not behave. All of us who were in the lodge wondered how it was possible for such a display of hooliganism to be tolerated in the presence of a classroom teacher, especially since there was an official notice in plain sight in the ballroom stating that the peace and quiet of the lodge were to be respected after 10:30 PM by everyone. And the "music" lasted all night.

In the morning there was a mess in the party room consisting of broken glasses, paper, cigarette butts, drinks spilled on tables and the floor, a spectacle of very sad memory. I wonder how it is possible for such teachers to last in education that is supposed to bring up youth in the spirit of respect for the public good and for the kind of social behavior required by socialist ethics.

That was only the beginning! In the next few days successive groups of younger or older pupils arrived at the lodge from various general cultural schools who were making "excursions at the end of the year." In the afternoon of 15 June three buses arrived with pupils from Craiova and Filiasi (and perhaps from other Olterian communities). All the rooms were filled and many slept double. When the children were settled they began to dance in the ballroom, drink beer and smoke cigarettes, and the older girls were embracing the boys in corners or outside in the bushes (I saw such spectacles and I might recognise some of the girls!). The younger pupils were running and shouting through the corridors, amusing themselves by clapping their hands and throwing stones at the doors of the rooms. Not one teacher was watching them. They were gathered in two rooms minding "their own business." I sought out some of these "colleagues" and told them what the children were doing whom they were supposed to be watching. One teacher (I do not mention her name) answered me very innocently, "But what can we do about them?" That is a reply of an irresponsible teacher. The game in the corridors and the dance in the ballroom were continued after dinner until past midnight to the music of the lodge's records and tape recorders. The single bathrooms on the floors were crowded with children, some of whom even relieved themselves in the corridors. The maids who were trying to clean up on the second day told me that sort of thing often happened and they were thinking of leaving the lodge because they could no longer stand the mess. The whole lodge smelled and only after the manager brought potassium chlorate from somewhere in the valley was it possible to wash away the stench so that there was fresh mountain air in the corridors and rooms again.

Such situations also occurred on the following days, perhaps not quite so bad but characterized by the same kind of behavior.

The school inspectorates of the respective schools should analyze such cases and proceed against the teachers who cannot control or educate the pupils in their charge. Parents! Do not allow your children on excursions where the teachers tolerate their acts of hooliganism and misbehavior. You will also suffer yourselves from this educational failing of the teachers.

But it can be done, and well!

A busload of pupils with four teachers arrived on the afternoon of the 18th (from Hategi I believe). After they were assigned to rooms in the teachers' presence, each teacher took the children in his charge and they planned a specific program. One went off and played soccer with them on the asphalt tennis court, another played volleyball with them (with a big rubber ball) on the lawn in front of the lodge, the third one went for a walk with them in the forest above the lodge, and the fourth one went down to the reservoir lake with them. They met for supper at the appointed hour, ate, then danced for an hour, and by 10:00 PM all the children were in bed, after they were sent in turn to the toilet, which was constantly checked. Everything proceeded in perfect order. It all depends on the teacher who is educating the children.

I worked for a long time with the pioneers and pupils in the higher grades. I know that our children's minds contain good, clean, honest and orderly material. Romania's future depends upon this exceptional material, which the educators are expected to polish like a diamond. But in the absence of good teachers this good reserve is distorted and impaired, and later on it will motivate those who are at odds with work and good social behavior. In this way irresponsible teachers constitute a risk of pedagogic pollution, a pollution of the educational process, and they threaten the very future of our children and through them the future of the Romania of tomorrow.

Thanks to such teachers and children, the lodge at Valea de Pesti is in a state of neglect and destruction that does us no honor (broken or stolen light bulbs, wash-bowls ripped from the walls, missing window panes, doors torn off the walls, broken faucets, drinking fountains that no longer work, etc.). That lodge was built at great expense and is a possession of us all of which we might be proud! Close attention on the part of those responsible for it might make it a matter of national pride again, but that requires certain standards of behavior on the part of those who visit it, which must be set and observed by all. The mountain lodges are not places to go on a colossal spree, to howl as if to drive the wolves from their lairs or to smash and damage everything like a hopeless drunkard. The mountain lodges are a national property of great therapeutic value. An Austrian who was visiting the lodge (along with a family from the GDR) said to me, "It's a shame! It is a pity that such a beautiful lodge is not properly maintained! In this splendid decor, it is an achievement like nothing we have in Austria, but it is intolerable to have no hot water, dirt in the corridors, no water running in the bathrooms at night and so much noise during the day!" That foreign visitor was quite right.

5186

CSO: 2700/355

INDEPENDENT ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS STRESSED IN CEAUSESCU BOOK

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian May 81 pp 14-16

[Article by Aurel Duca, secretary of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania]

[Text] The volume which appeared recently as an ardent homage paid to the party and its secretary general gives credit to a scientific, dynamic and mobilizing concept of the trade unions' role in the stage of creating the multilaterally developed socialist society, clearly marking out the value of traditions in carrying out their role as the most comprehensive organization of workers and the importance of their present duties in the leadership, organization and development of political, economic and social life. These qualitatively new duties and responsibilities result from the position of the working class as the leading class in our present society.

The wealth of theses, ideas, solutions and specific indications makes up a prestigious work of high theoretical and practical value which clearly establishes the trade unions' position in the broad mobilization of forces in our society for implementing the party's economic policy and the program to raise the workers' standard of living and for optimum utilization of the institutions of socialist democracy and participation of the creators of material and spiritual goods in decision making.

The analytical and clear-sighted spirit and consistently revolutionary spirit which characterize all the political-ideological activity of the party's secretary general, the boldness and originality of his inestimable contribution to enriching scientific socialism are brought out strikingly in this work, also, as brilliant qualities which define the prominent personality of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu--a thinker and man of action--and his decisive contribution to working out and implementing the program to build modern, rich and prosperous Romania.

A central spot in this volume is held by the problems in the role of the trade unions, within which the position promoted at the RCP Central Committee plenum of February 1971, stand out in particular, because it signifies the final abandonment of outdated theory of the mission of this organization and clear definition of its forms of operation which correspond to the demands of our day. Clearly asserting that "the old slogan of 'transmission belt' no longer corresponds to the current stage of development of our society," since "the party does not need such a 'belt' to speak with the workers," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed the purpose of the trade unions to be primarily a broad forum for joining workers to discuss all social-economic problems.

In their concern for broadening and continually improving the democratic framework for workers' participation in the organization and leadership of production and in working out and implementing the decision-making act--political, economic and social--our party and its secretary general have conceived of proper levers to actually achieve the democratic prerogatives with which the working collectives, trade unions and other mass and public organizations have been entrusted. Such levers--workers councils, where the trade union president is the vice president, the workers general meetings headed by the presidents of the trade unions--are deliberative, decision-making forums for certain basic economic and social problems of the social-economic units, whose importance has been made valid already in practice. As we know, the workers general meetings, at Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's indication, have become democratic institutions with a decisive word about the good progress of the enterprises. In light of their duties, the demand is fully justified that, by participating in the leadership organs in enterprises, institutions, in ministries, including in the government, where they have the best conditions for expressing the workers' interests, the way the working class thinks, an opinion on all problems of the country's development, the trade unions should fully utilize these opportunities, insuring the active presence of the broad masses in the leadership of economic and social matters.

Placing the new tasks and duties belonging to the trade unions in the center of attention in order to involve the masses in leadership of all social-economic activity and to insure the best working and living conditions and to organize rich and attractive political-educational and cultural-artistic activity, the volume offers a clear prospect for the theoretical and practical approach to the problems of self-leadership and self-management of the workers and implementation of their principles. Having become a basic condition of economic activity, the precise application of the new economic-financial mechanism also formulates greater responsibilities for the trade unions. We see the collective work organs, the workers councils and the general meetings as forms of development of worker self-leadership, of demonstration of each collective's responsibility for good management of the financial and material resources entrusted to it--as part of the general wealth of all our people." Concern with carrying out activity of profitable production which would make it possible to allocate capital for broader reproduction and for providing the necessary resources for raising the people's material and spiritual standard of living, concern with strengthening order, responsibility and discipline in production and with utilizing the workers' initiative in improving work techniques and methods and with establishing relations of close cooperation in honoring the tasks in the spirit of socialist ethics and equity and intensification of political-educational and cultural-artistic activity--all these are an integral part of the goals for the fulfillment of which the trade unions are being called on to actively mobilize their members.

Also we should stress the insistence with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on one hand, brings out the need for a more powerful and permanent cooperation with the ministries and centrals and all organs which the trade unions are part of and in which they are called on to firmly have their say as representatives of the workers and with the other mass and public organizations and creative unions and institutions of learning, art and culture and, on the other hand, the requirement for as strict a delimitation as possible of the tasks and specific methods of action.

The theses worked out by the party's secretary general on the role and duties of the trade unions are under the banner of promoting what is new in trade union life, the permanent desire to give their work a climate of high exactingness and social responsibility, true creativity in the professional, economic and public activity of the mass of this organization's members.

The trade unions' role and duties can be carried out under optimum conditions due to their leadership by the party. The way in which this principle is applied corresponds fully to the general style of our party's activity and it does not exercise this role in an administrative way and does not seek to superpose with other organs and institutions or to carry out the duties belonging to certain collectives or people by absolving them of the responsibilities they were given. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu specifies, "The party's leadership of the trade unions must be of a political nature." Fulfilling its mission as leader with this view, our party is concerned with development of a revolutionary spirit in the activity of the trade union organizations and is seeing that their measures correspond to society's vital interests and those of the people and that they contribute fully to implementation of our state's domestic and foreign policy. As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu recently pointed out at the congress of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, "The party organizations should not subordinate or watch over the trade unions, but they should take action through the trade union communist so that they fulfill their responsibilities."

The book's final chapter, referring to the trade unions' contribution to strengthening the world worker movement, expresses an exemplary humanism, a convincing call to achieve working class unity in all countries, a call for democratization of the mass organizations in the context of democratization of international political life. Drawing attention to the fact that reaction and imperialism always have taken action against working class unity while the slogan of so-called independent trade unions, which is not a new one, has served the interests of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasizes with revolutionary conviction: "The unity of the working class and of the trade union movement has been and is the primary requirement of the revolutionary struggle, of the victory of the socialist revolution, of the construction of socialism, of strengthening of the independence, sovereignty of any socialist country."

Through the complexity of the problems treated and the sharpness and current nature of them, the work is a plea for increasing trade unions' contribution to the general activity of our society to promote a scientific, revolutionary, creative and efficient style of work through which the organization can honor its high mission, it itself being historic, entrusted by the party along the road of creating socialism and communism, creating a high material and spiritual standard of living and flourishing of our dear country, the Socialist Republic of Romania.

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C SO: 2700/363

BRIEFS

CEAUSESCU ATTACK ON PRESS--In his speech on the 50th anniversary of the publication of the Romanian party organ SCINTEIA, the Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu placed great importance on all the Romanian mass communications media in all stages of socialist construction. At the same time, Ceausescu criticized some phenomena in the work of the press. In his words, there have appeared in the press some cosmopolitan and reactionary ideas which have nothing in common with the struggle for socialist progress. [Excerpts] [Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 17 Aug 81 p 5]

CSO: 2800/354

AUTHOR, RETURNEE FROM SOVIET PRISON CAMPS, INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1594, 19 Jul 81
pp 22-24

[Article by Milo Gligorić based on an interview with Julius Jemeljanović Baranovski, author of the book "Zatvorska i sibirska sjećanja (1926-1957)" [Prison and Siberian Memoirs (1926-1957)]: "Memories From the Realm of Death"]

[Text] The man we intend to write about is named Julius Jemeljanović Baranovski, he is a pensioner, a former chief republic forestry inspector in SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia. He is 77 years old and lives on Mljet, where the landscape is something out of the Bible. He might be taken for some retired professor who has a quiet and comfortable life, but appearances are once again deceiving. Baranovski is one of the 13 Yugoslavs who have returned from Stalin's camps. He was 22 years old when his party, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, sent him to the Soviet Union to go to school. He was in love with the forest, with the Siberian forest especially, he studied forestry, but suddenly he was a sufferer, a camp inmate in Siberia. The reader will rightly say: The irony of fate.

In his book "Zatvorska i sibirska sjećanja," whose first edition was soon sold out, Baranovski says:

"When I finally returned to my old homeland, to Yugoslavia, where I was born, I filed away little scraps of pictures deeply engraved in my memory which were still fresh. Even now I can see the faces of people, the walls, the barbed wire fence, the situation, the objects, the landscape of the Soviet north. I recognize the voices of my interrogators and the noises from the cells. I hear gunfire, commands, shrieks, the barking of dogs, steps, and the whistling of the locomotive of the prisoner train. I can sense the quiet of the magnificent Russian forest near Arkhangelsk, I hear the hubbub of camp life and the Siberian taiga under the snow on the banks of the frozen Yenisey. I hear the crackling of branches and the unforgettable sound of an enormous tree crashing down. I was a forestry engineer, and for long years that was my entire world."

When we sought him out at his domicile on Mljet, at Govedjari, he told us that troublesome nighttime dreams take him back to Siberia even today:

"I dream about fulfilling the plan. I dream about investigations and tortures. I experience it all over again. At times names and people I had forgotten come back to me in a dream."

Twilight of Humanity

On our way to find Julius Jemeljanovic we went through Zagreb, since the man who was the first reader and judge of his memoirs lives in Zagreb. This is Joza Vlahovic, the well-known newsman. He finds that Baranovski's conception of the world has remained just as it was before he went off to the Soviet Union and before his Calvary as a prison inmate. What this means more or less is that this man who was once poor and was born in Prnjavor in Bosnia, has retained and preserved his communist ideals. So, the question that we took with us to Mljet ran like this: How is it possible to survive everything that Baranovski experienced and not become an anticommunist?

The answer, one of the answers, is to be found in Baranovski's very first sentences. He says: "At that time we did not have a life of our own. We were building a life in the interests of the party, the working class and our homeland. I was prepared to go through fire and water for the party. Even in prison we were building the socialism to which we had pledged ourselves."

And the answer, of course, leads to a new question. Is it possible that a man who was convicted without evidence as the member of some invented rightwing organization, as a supposed spy and traitor, whose family has been scattered, who has lost his spouse forever and is reunited with his son Volodja and daughter Valja--after many years of imprisonment--once again in a camp, who has been tortured with beatings and starvation and has spent two long decades behind a wire fence, is it possible that such a man would not lose faith in socialism and would not turn against his original goals?

On page 106 of "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja" Baranovski says: "Certain of the officials stole the food allotted to the prisoners and sold it outside the camp. The same thing happened to the clothing and footwear intended for the prisoners. Stealing, beatings and even killings of prisoners, apparently with the support of the camp management, were everyday occurrences accepted as a way of life."

On page 114 he described the special solitary confinement cell block:

"In that cell block, which was built of logs, there were separate cells strengthened with sheet metal. Some people they kept below in a cold pit, they put others in straitjackets and bound their hands and feet, still others they hurled into dark concrete cells in which they could only squat. Certainly the purpose of such punishment was not correction, but simply physical annihilation."

The reader learns that the delinquents and criminals made life miserable for the political prisoners. They became accomplices of the guards and demonstrated their superiority in savage ways. These past masters at fighting and bloody showdowns, for whom human life was too cheap, developed their banditry in the prison, organized drinking bouts and gambling. They even lost in gambling

"their own" wives, women political prisoners compelled to live with them. On the one hand, then, the NKVD with its sinister tricks, and on the other this human dregs, and on yet another disease and hunger—is not all that enough to lose hope and to have one's ideals shattered?

We will also copy down these lines:

"I behaved altogether unnaturally for a man at forced labor in a camp: as though I was free. When for a moment I became aware of things as they were, I saw the sufferings of others, and I aroused myself and deliberately strove to suppress those feelings in myself. Probably I would after all be free one day, it would not go on this way forever, there was justice, just hold on a bit! At that point I could not even suspect that I would have to hold out for all of another 15 years. That is how it is with illusions."

Therapeutic Illusions

Baranovski, who was kept alive by illusions, knows that his book is a grave accusation of Stalinism and appeals for socialism and communism not to be linked to Stalin's name. Stalin, he says, abolished the class of producers and created the class of the bureaucracy.

"Those who built careers on the bones of innocent people were not communists, but criminals. They proclaimed millions of honest people to be criminals and convicted them without proof. Not a single country in the world could survive as many criminals as Stalin produced. But the Soviet Union survived them because they were not criminals, but law-abiding citizens who were building socialism even in the prison. I have written somewhere that the USSR had the highest number of criminals, but no crime. With us here in Yugoslavia it is quite the reverse. We have crime, but no criminals. I was very gratified when Petar Stambolic spoke so harshly as to say that we even award decorations to certain criminals."

Of course, Baranovski does not have such a high opinion of all his cosufferers and fellow inmates. Many sold their souls to the devil to make life easier in the camp. Something about that can be found in the papers which Baranovski sent to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. For a time he hoped to relate the Soviet events and details to Tito. And Tito himself on several occasions had a habit of saying at receptions: "We must get together, Julius, we must have a talk." But he was too busy and ill to manage it. Baranovski has now sat down and written what he did not succeed in telling to Josip Broz. He has written thousands of pages. Descriptions of his meetings with well-known figures in the working class and communist movement are a particularly interesting feature of these memoirs. He knew Ivan Krndelj, Vladimir Copic, Grgur Vujovic, Bozidar Maslaric and Paja Marganovic. He was well acquainted with Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev from the time when the two of them were secretaries of party committees of schools of the university in Moscow. In 1957, when he was rehabilitated, Baranovski had to part from his companion in the camp, his spouse Olga. She would have had to officially renounce her daughter Nadja if he was to be able to bring her to Yugoslavia. Then Tito appealed to

Khrushchev to give Olga a permit to come to Yugoslavia. Did Nikita Sergeyevich remember at that time his student days and Julius Baranovski, his former comrade?

Baranovski also knew Nadezhda Aliluyeva, Stalin's wife, and Zhemchuzhina, Molotov's wife. Aliluyeva, as is well known, was killed by her husband, the boss in the Kremlin. And Molotov had his wife put behind bars. "She lived to see her rehabilitation under Khrushchev," Baranovski says, "and she died soon thereafter." To go on, he knew Radek well, they were together in exile in Voronezh. He also knew Dimitrov. He wrote letters to the first man of the Comintern, just like thousands and hundreds of thousands of other arrestees.

"We wrote to him that we were not seeking any sort of mercy. We wanted the charges to be proved. We reminded him that he himself had had a fair trial in fascist Germany. We said: Let us be given a fair trial here in a socialist country. There was no answer from Dimitrov. I think he himself was overwhelmed with fear of reprisal."

When a story goes on paper, it behaves like a river with many tributaries and backwaters. Baranovski now describes the columns of arrestees and the heartlessness of the NKVD people. How did the suspicions and investigations begin?

"I was in Kalinin, where I was a member of the city committee and was a lecturer on party history. An order came down to form special departments, intelligence groups, in all institutions. A system was created in which everyone was keeping watch on everyone else. The times were such that today someone could point even to the head of the NKVD as an enemy, and the next day he himself might become the victim of someone's fabrication."

Foreigners, to a man, one after the other, and emigres motivated by economic incentives were the first to be attacked. Later the suspicion grew by chain reaction into a kind of hysteria.

At this point the story has to go into parentheses and the fate of the economically motivated emigres explained. There were many of them who went to the Soviet Union when the Comintern was appealing for experts and promised them good wages in rubles and half of the money deposited in dollars until their departure from the Soviet Union. Many went, many fled and many stayed. Those who did stay got the camp for their pains. They were never to see the deposited dollars.

Among the 13 Yugoslavs returning from Siberia, Baranovski said, only 3 were charged with political crimes. Which three? Or: Which two besides him? For some reason the question is passed over in silence. But Baranovski repeats that the fate of the political prisoners was far worse. That fate is indicated by the following lines from "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja":

"I was not afraid of death itself. But I was horrified by the thought of its hypocritical preparation through a new investigation, tortures, abuse, curses, beatings, assembly-line interrogations, starvation, canker sores.... Tortured

to the extreme, I finally fell asleep, but sleep did not calm me down. Several times I was awakened in fright by my own screams."

Between descriptions of this kind Baranovski has inserted sketches of the heartless moneygrubbers, informers, scoundrels, thieves and cold-blooded killers, but also a small procession of noble people who occasionally made his hell more bearable. There is a description in the book of a conversation he had with Lieutenant Colonel Didorenko, an NKVD official, which is unforgettable. "We talked without witnesses, man to man.... He spoke with such scorn about the criminals in the NKVD that for a moment I was afraid that this might be some new provocation."

Lieutenant Colonel Didorenko was the head of an oblast NKVD administration somewhere in the Ukraine at the time when the mass arrests began in 1937. He was not zealous in his work and had to take a lower position in some camp in the Far North. It was then that his travels would crisscross those of Baranovski. He was also to appear in a time of need, as a rescuer. Baranovski went through seven investigations, he was convicted four times without evidence, once being sentenced to death. Didorenko's hand was also behind the reduction of that death sentence to life imprisonment.

Baranovski also remembers Lieutenant Kuznetsov, head of the Mostovitsa camp, for the good he did. There was hunger, he says, the camp inmates were eating grass and dying like flies. He proposed to Kuznetsov that livestock be purchased from the peasants for the money of the camp inmates and that some old buildings be patched up. Kuznetsov assented and then horses began to arrive which had been purchased for a trifle. Life returned to the camp. But soon came Belayev, one of the torturers, and he raised a tremendous fuss. A new investigation, a new charge: Baranovski had been working against the interests of the Soviet state. He had deliberately attempted to impoverish households in order to undermine their economy and destroy agriculture.

Baranovski says:

"When a commission came to the camp, its members asked Kuznetsov: Why aren't your people dying? He told them frankly: People are not dying in my camp because the one who saved them is dying."

Didorenko and Kuznetsov, and then the freeman Roginskiy, stand as in Shakespeare's dramas against the gaping darkness of Belayev, Dubasov, Korobitsin, that Korobitsin, Baranovski says, who in cold blood and with his own hand killed a coachman, a young man who had only begun to live.

We asked him what should have been done to make life in the camp more supportable?

"In the Gulag system they were constantly thinking about deriving benefit from the labor that was expended. Thus professional competence often saved lives. And strength, physical endurance. People died who did not have professional competence or strength and who did not want to become finger-men. I was saved by

my knowledge and by my consistency. I received 27 certificates for good work in the camps, and when I came to Yugoslavia I packed them all up and said: Here you are, I don't need them, I am making a present of them to you."

How To Recognize an Adversary

And in Yugoslavia, Baranovski says, he came upon new troubles, he became ill.

"I was a strange sight in wide Russian trousers, with a lock of hair that had turned white overnight, after my trial and sentencing to death by firing squad. When I started from Siberia it was 64° below zero, and in Belgrade it was 38° above. I somehow seemed to lose my strength all at once, I could no longer walk. And my child became ill: It went to the children's home, and I went to the hospital. Zvonko Brkic came to see me, other comrades came, and the doctors constantly said that they must cut off my legs, that there was no chance for my legs. They said: He has no muscles, he is standing on the bones. And I began to do exercises persistently, every day, and there, now I can walk, but had I listened to the doctors, I would have lost my legs."

The remembrance of Brkic, Marijan Cvetkovic, Karl Mrazovic, Djuro Salaj and many other officials who took care of him, of Kardelj who once had a long conversation with him, of Tito who personally presented a commemoration to him, to him alone of all the returnees, cannot erase the unpleasant trace of a brief sentence which he remembered from a time when they were talking in Zagreb about his being appointed to a particular important post and when someone less well known than all those mentioned, said: "We have our own people." Is it possible that even here in Yugoslavia, his homeland, he is a foreigner? Is it possible that his Ukrainian origin, or perhaps the circumstance that he was in Siberia, makes him suspicious?

Baranovski knows that he turned some people against him. They did not respect his sincerity, they did not understand his enthusiasm. When the forest of Mijet was burning, he spent 2 nights out in the open going from door to door, calling out people to fight the fire, but people said: That is not our district, that is Babino Polje.

"I think that this is one country and that a single system, socialism, should be built in it."

It is time that we noted down the views of Julius Jemeljanovic Baranovski concerning the development of socialism. He says that it was easy to reflect and to act when Marxism-Leninism and Social Democracy existed with the same goals and different programs. Now there are eight different Marxisms, Stalinist, Mao-tsetungist, Trotskyist.... We have become fragmented, we have quarreled, we are more involved with criticizing one another than with the destiny of the working class.

Baranovski speaks about the days of his youth and says that communists always wore distinguishing marks, a red tie, and then when that mark was discovered, a kerchief, a bamboo cane.... And they could easily detect the fellow fighter and

the opponent. Now, he said, that is unfeasible. Now you don't know who you're fighting against. There is constant talk about unnamed people who are at fault, but whenever those at fault are unnamed, the blame falls on the government and the party.

Olga Baranovski, Julius' spouse, says that fighters went into revolutions with ideals. And they died. Behind them came people most of them of a different stamp, and that explains the wandering and the stumbling.

In his eyes, which are the color of a bright sky, there is firm belief in the truthfulness of the words he utters.

A Terrible Joy

Does this mean that everything would have happened differently in the Soviet Union if there had been no Stalin? The question contains an obvious doubt that it can be answered in the affirmative, but the Baranovskis say: "Yes. The people," Julius Jemeljanovic says, "raised Lenin up on a pedestal like a god, since a god on earth was needed for current politics. And when Lenin died, some new god, a new messiah, had to be chosen. Stalin pledged that he would carry out Lenin's policy, but he committed the gravest crimes."

Regarding these simplifications as wonderful coming from a man with such a biography, we asked ourselves once again: How is it possible to see so much evil in a system which is called socialist and which says that it is headed toward communism and not abandon the idea of communism and socialism?

Baranovski says with assurance that a communist who easily changes his ideological clothes has never been a communist at all. And that is a complete answer. Baranovski says that there were barely 1,000 people in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia when he became a member of it. Those 1,000 never even dreamed that they would bring down the state, but they hoped that some good would come about through their death. And they were prepared, truly prepared, to undertake self-sacrifice.

End of the conversation. If there were not the piece of paper "recording" this conversation, if there were not a book entitled "Zatvorska i sibirska sjecanja," we might think that this had been a conversation with heroes from Maxim Gorky.

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KOSOVO HISTORIAN HADRI CRITICIZED FOR CHAUVINISM

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1596, 2 Aug 81
pp 33-34

[Article by Milos Misovic: "History According to Hadri"]

[Text] Speaking at a press conference in the rector's office of Kosovo University in Pristina last Monday, Redzep Gasi, chairman of the university action committee of the League of Communists, said that differentiation in this higher educational institution was under way, but that many important jobs remained. There is a need to shed light on the problems of indoctrination with nationalism and irredentism and then of national romanticism and its influence on historical science.

In that context he also mentioned the fact that Dr Ali Hadri, a man whose name has recently been associated most frequently with a biased and nationalistic interpretation of history, had been punished with the last party admonition before expulsion for, as he put it, opportunism and passivity.

Ali Hadri, a Kosovo historian, professor and member of the academy, appeared on the academic scene back in the seventies, when he defended his doctoral thesis at Pristina University on the topic: "The National Liberation Movement in Kosovo 1941-1945." Though even before that he had been concerned with history (his master's thesis was entitled "The Prizren League"), his dizzying ascent began after he received his academic title. He then became the principal writer of Kosovo history, a professor at the School of Philosophy, director of the Bureau for Kosovo History, and after several years a member of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts as well.

Perhaps it would have not been unusual for a young historian to capture the highest scholarly title, accompanied by diverse public recognition, in what was like an assault if strange interpretations of historical facts and of the past of the Serbian and Albanian peoples in Kosovo had not been detected in his activity.

Seven years ago Dr Hasan Haleshi, professor at the School of Philosophy in Pristina, sent a letter to leading figures and institutions in Kosovo and alerted them that the Professors Ali Hadri and Skender Rizaj were committing "obvious falsifications of past history" and were thereby "directly furthering misguided

training of young historians, whose harmful consequences are perhaps invisible today, but will in future be ever stronger." Illustrating the way Hadri and Rizaaj were falsifying history with a number of examples, Professor Haleshi also referred to their "scientific discovery" that there was no exodus of Serbs from Kosovo.

Perhaps it is to Professor Haleshi's credit, since he is an Albanian from Kosovo, that he was the first to raise his voice against the falsification of historical facts, but it cannot be regarded as politically correct that those to whom the scholar turned and called upon to take appropriate steps, did nothing. On the contrary, Ali Hadri and Skender Rizaaj, with the tacit consent of political bodies and with the financial aid of the relevant institutions, continued to "shape" the history of Kosovo according to their nationalistic criterion. Incidentally, let us look at a few other remarks which Professor Haleshi made in the letter we have mentioned:

"Since it is a question of distorting facts which are already well known, of the most vulgar falsifications, I reacted out of scholarly duty and my conscience as a professor--I wrote an article and sent it to the journal PERPARIMI, since that is where S. Rizaaj published the article in which he falsified a number of scholarly truths, with implications for relations among the nationalities as well. But, though I sent the article in 8 months ago, so far it not only has not been published, but the editors have not seen fit to even inform me whether they will publish it. So no other conclusion can be drawn except that the editors of PERPARIMI take the same position and stand behind the views of S. Rizaaj."

The Scholarly and Nationalistic Climate

"It is very symptomatic," Haleshi went on to write, "that S. Rizaaj, after presenting his 'scientific' discoveries in writing, was elected head of the History Department of the School of Philosophy in Pristina, was elected president of the Society of Kosovo Historians, was delegated as a member of the editorial board of the history journal, was elected editor in chief and responsible editor of AL-BANOLOSKA ISTRAZIVANJA, received several thousand dollars to go to London to conduct some sort of research, though he cannot speak a single correct sentence in English. I cannot help but place all this in a logical relationship--the thing to do is to falsify history and adopt primitive and nationalistic positions, for all doors to be opened unto you."

It needs no great research effort to ascertain the degree to which the writing of history in Kosovo is burdened with ethnic romanticism and Great Albanian nationalism, of which Ali Hadri, member of the academy, is a spokesman. To show that this is not a mere hypothesis, let us see how this scholar is represented in an official document.

At the end of May last year the Committee for the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Prize received a joint nomination of the Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts and the School of Philosophy in Pristina to award this high recognition to Ali Hadri, member of the academy. The extensive substantiation of the nomination included the following points:

i. that Hadri, member of the academy, has elucidated a number of scientific problems in numerous scholarly works, relying on Marxist thought, which gives his writings particular importance,

ii. that he occupies an important place among the most distinguished historians of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution,

iii. that he is among the most distinguished Albanian scholars, not only in Yugoslavia,

iv. that in performance of his lengthy scholarly work, in publishing numerous writings of exceptional scholarly interest, in training scholars, especially in the field of historical science, he has laid the foundations for the solid writing of history in Kosovo in the spirit of historical materialism, which is contributing to the scientific study and treatment of this province's history, and at the same time the history of the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia and the history of the LCY,

v. that as a teacher he has made an exceptional contribution to the training of historians who serve as an example to the entire country.

Thus this document portrays the image of Academician Hadri, decorated with high orders and recognition, who lacked only the AVNOJ Prize. Those who understand history a bit better, think differently about this scholar.

Uncritical Acceptance of Albanian Views

Ali Hadri demonstrated his "Marxist interpretation" of history in his "Critical Essay on the Memoirs of Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo," published in 1972 in the journal KOSOVO. On that occasion he presented a number of inaccurate and, from the standpoint of the writing of Yugoslav history, unacceptable--judgments, and among them particular attention was attracted by his interpretation of the role of the delegate of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in establishing the Communist Party of Albania.

"It seems to us that the time has come for the Yugoslav writing of history to treat correctly as one of the elements, the external factors, the role of the delegate of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with respect to the Communist Party of Albania, and to reject the opinion of Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo (which is not his alone), who has raised the work of the delegate of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia concerning the Communist Party of Albania to the level of megalomania, which is not based on historical truth."

This and a number of other judgments presented in Hadri's "Critical Essay ..." led Gen Petar Brajovic, at that time head of the Institute of Military History, who incidentally fought in the Partisans from 1941 and was a well-known Partisan commander from Kosovo, to subject Hadri's judgments to harsh criticism.

"Ali Hadri," Brajovic wrote in March 1974, "blames Tempo for not having adapted his memoirs to Albanian documents, especially to the 'History of the Communist

Party of Albania,' to which he refers most frequently. It is strange that the author unreservedly concurs in the judgment of the Albanian leadership that that 'history' is its guide and that he is offering these views to Yugoslav historiography."

General Brajovic sent an extensive and documented analysis of Hadri's views to the leaders in Kosovo: Mahmut Bakalli, Dzavid Nimani and Mihail Zvicer, along with the remark that he was surprised that no one had taken exception to this writing of Hadri's.

In the meantime Svetozar Vukmanovic Tempo, in a very fully documented text, himself contested Hadri's assertions, but the publication of Tempo's response was placed under an embargo by the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo because it allegedly offended fighters from Kosovo, both living and dead.

When it became evident that Dr Hadri had gone too far, the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo created a commission whose task was to examine his criticism of Tempo's memoirs. The commission ascertained that Ali Hadri had uncritically taken over the judgments of the Albanian Workers' Party "which came about in a period of an ideological and political offensive against the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and against our country from Cominform positions," without taking exception to them. For that reason the Executive Committee of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo took exception to Hadri's views internally and recommended to the basic organization of the League of Communists at the School of Philosophy that it ascertained the degree of his political responsibility for that kind of writing.

The Target of Hadri's Criticism

However, when a debate was held in the party organization on this matter, individuals praised Dr Hadri so highly that one of the participants asked at one point whether they were debating nomination for a prize or establishment of political responsibility. In that kind of atmosphere Hadri was given only a warning, which did not alter by one whit his firm nationalistic commitment.

The chronicle "Djakovica in the National Liberation Movement 1941-1945," which was written by Dr Hadri and was published by the Institute for Kosovo History, was an occasion for new criticism, warnings and disavowals. Professor Haleshi sharply criticized this book, which is full of historical falsehoods and nationalistic coloring, in an article which the journal OBELEZJA published in No 3-4, 1976, after Haleshi's death. Unfortunately, it all ended with his being warned that "he must not pass lightly" over these historical falsehoods, since "they threaten to become a bad habit which could have (and indeed today does have) very serious repercussions."

No one did anything even after the documented critical remark made by Col Nili Djesarevic, a partisan fighter from 1941 from Djakovica, who called upon the war veterans' organization of Djakovica to disavow Hadri's distorted presentation of

the truth. Instead of that, in last year's nomination for Hadri to be awarded the AVNOJ Prize, the chronicle "Djakovica in the National Liberation Movement 1941-1945" is presented as one of the "major works of Academician Hadri."

If one is to understand more easily the atmosphere in which Dr Hadri does what he does, it is worth looking at one other observation of Professor Haleshi:

"We should emphasize that we here in Kosovo absolutely lack an advanced criticism of the writing of history, which is clannish, nepotistic and panegyric, and its purpose is to praise and glorify the writings of particular authors, though often they do not meet even formal scholarly conditions. On the other hand, some historians have an almost deep-rooted opinion that the purpose of Albanian historiography in Kosovo is to attack every book published in Belgrade or elsewhere in order to show how maliciously the history of the Albanian people has been treated. As an example we will cite the book of Ali Hadri entitled 'Kritika historiografiska' [Historiographic Criticism] in which three-fourths are taken up by criticism of particular Yugoslav writings which have gone through three or four editions."

Professor Haleshi pointed out that Ali Hadri has on four occasions criticized the views presented by M. Garashanin, member of the academy, in "Istorija crnogorskog naroda" [History of the Montenegrin People]. That is the number of times his criticism "History of Yugoslavia" as told by Djirkovic, Bozic, Ekmecic and Dedi-ger has been published. These critical essays, which were not published in journals alone, but also as a serialized feature in the newspaper RILINDJA, would arouse no suspicions if it were not that Ali Hadri's critical inclination is equally directed toward all quarters. But he did not deem it necessary to write "a single critical word concerning the numerous distortions and falsifications of historical facts presented in 'Istorija albanskog naroda' [History of the Albanian People], 'Istorija Albanske partije rada' [History of the Albanian Workers' Party], and many other Albanian publications," Professor Haleshi wrote in the article we have mentioned.

When this prehistory is carefully examined, it seems that the party punishment pronounced against Hadri could have been invoked for an altogether definite and clearly oriented activity rather than for passivity.

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REGULATION ON ISSUING TRAVEL, OTHER DOCUMENTS TO FOREIGNERS

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian 14 Aug 81 pp 1153-1160

[Regulation issued by the federal secretary for internal affairs in Belgrade on 10 June 1981; please note that 6.5 pages of forms included in this text have not been translated: "Regulation on the Manner of Issuance of Travel and Other Documents and Visas to Foreign Nationals and on the Forms of Those Documents and Visas"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 99 of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ, No 56, 1980), the federal secretary for internal affairs prescribes the following

REGULATION

ON THE MANNER OF ISSUANCE OF TRAVEL AND OTHER DOCUMENTS AND VISAS TO FOREIGN NATIONALS AND ON THE FORMS OF THOSE DOCUMENTS AND VISAS

I. General Provisions

Article 1

This regulation prescribes the following:

- 1) the manner of issuance of travel and other documents and visas to foreign nationals, the manner of approval of temporary residence, the manner of approval of permanent settlement, the manner of recognition of refugee status, and the manner of notification of commencement and termination of domicile and commencement of temporary residence;
- 2) the forms of the alien travel permit, tourist passes, the alien identity card, the permanent settlement permit, the temporary residence permit, and the visa issued to foreign nationals, as well as the forms of the applications for their issuance;
- 3) the form on which notification shall be given of commencement and termination of permanent residence and commencement of temporary residence and the forms of the records which are to be kept under the provisions of the Law on the Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals by organizations of associated labor, other

self-managing organizations and individuals offering lodgings to foreign nationals;

4) the manner in which records shall be kept and notification given of foreign nationals residing permanently or temporarily on the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or crossing the territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (hereafter the "SFRY") and on travel documents and visas issued to foreign nationals by the competent agencies in the republic or autonomous province;

5) the manner in which the register of aliens' associations and other registers of aliens shall be kept.

Article 2

Upon receiving an application for issuance of a travel document or visa, a temporary residence permit, a permanent settlement permit, recognition of the right of asylum, recognition of refugee status or the issuance of an alien identity card, the official authorized to conduct procedure (hereafter the "official") shall establish the identity of the foreigner who has submitted the application and shall ascertain whether the travel or other document submitted as evidence of his identity is in order and valid, whether the application has been filled out accurately and legibly, and whether the prescribed appendices have been submitted along with the application.

The application referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be typed or printed, if filled out by hand.

Article 3

The application for issuance of a travel document or visa, temporary residence permit, permanent settlement permit, recognition of the right of asylum, recognition of refugee status and issuance of an alien identity card shall as a rule be filed by the foreign national seeking issuance of the document or visa or permanent settlement permit or recognition of refugee status or the right of asylum.

An application for issuance of a tourist pass or visa may also be submitted by the leader of a group of foreign nationals.

Article 4

The official ruling on the application for issuance of a travel document or visa may require that the applicant furnish more detailed grounds for his application and also furnish other information related to the application.

II. Issuance of Travel and Other Documents and Visas

1. Issuance of Travel Documents

Article 5

The refugee travel document, the stateless person travel document, and the alien travel permit shall be applied for in writing. The application shall be submitted on Form No 1 [not included in this translation].

The application shall be accompanied by two photographs 4.5 x 6 cm in size which faithfully portray the person seeking issuance of the document.

The official receiving the application for issuance of the refugee travel document shall ask the applicant to show the decision of the competent agency recognizing his refugee status.

In ruling on an application for issuance of the stateless person travel document the official shall make a check as to whether the applicant or person to whom the application pertains is the national of some foreign state.

Article 6

The period within which the refugee or stateless person may return to the SFRY shall also be entered in the refugee travel document and stateless person travel document.

The phrase "not entitled to return" shall be entered in the stateless person travel document issued to a foreign national who is leaving the SFRY.

Article 7

The form of the alien travel permit shall be 10 x 14.5 cm in size and shall contain 20 numbered pages.

The text of the form of the alien travel permit shall be printed in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia and also in French.

The alien travel permit shall be issued on Form No 2 [not included in this translation].

Article 8

The period of validity of the alien travel permit shall be as follows:

- 1) up to 1 year--to an alien who has been granted the right of asylum in the SFRY, for travel abroad;
- 2) up to 3 months--to a foreign national who has obtained protection of the SFRY, to come to the SFRY;

3) up to 6 months--to a foreign national who has been released from SFRY citizenship, for departure abroad;

4) up to 3 months--to a foreign national who has lost a foreign travel document or has been left without it in some other manner, when the state of which he is a national does not have its diplomatic or consular mission in the SFRY nor are its interests represented by another state, to depart abroad;

5) up to 3 months--to an alien who while abroad has lost his alien travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, to return to the SFRY.

The phrase "not entitled to return" shall be entered in the alien travel permit issued to an alien who is emigrating from the SFRY and in the alien travel permit issued to the foreign national referred to in Subparagraph 4 of Paragraph 1 of this article.

Article 9

The following shall be appended to the application for issuance of the alien travel permit:

1) by an alien who has been granted the right of asylum--a copy of the decision granting right of asylum in the SFRY;

2) by a foreign national who has been released from citizenship of the SFRY--a copy of the decision on release from citizenship of the SFRY;

3) by a foreign national who has lost or in some other manner been left without his travel document, when the state of which he is a national does not have its own diplomatic or consular mission in the SFRY nor are its interests represented by another state--a document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the travel document.

Article 10

Data shall be entered in the refugee travel document, stateless person travel document and alien travel permit with a special typewriter.

An embossed stamp shall be applied to the travel documents referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article, and photographs shall be stapled.

2. Issuance of the Tourist Pass

Article 11

As a rule application shall be made orally for issuance of the tourist pass.

A foreign national seeking issuance of a tourist pass must show to the official a valid national travel document or other document which is proof of identity.

Article 12

For issuance of a tourist pass to a group of foreign nationals on an excursion in international maritime, river or air traffic the leader of the group shall submit two copies of the list of passengers certified by the captain of the vessel or aircraft--and each passenger shall submit his valid national travel document or other document proving identity.

After verifying the identity of the passengers, the official shall certify both copies of the passenger list by applying the prescribed stamp for certification of the crossing of the border and shall sign both copies, one of which he shall retain, while he shall return the other to the leader of the group and issue tourist passes to members of the group.

Article 13

The foreign national shall deliver the tourist pass to the official of the agency competent for monitoring crossing of the national border upon departure from the SFRY.

A foreign national who has entered the SFRY on a tourist pass, should the competent agency in the SFRY issue him a temporary residence permit or visa, shall return the tourist pass to the agency which issued him the permit or visa.

The tourist pass shall be issued on Form No 3 [not included in this translation].

3. Issuance of the Alien Identity Card

Article 14

Application for the alien identity card shall be made in writing. The application shall be submitted on Form No 4 [not included in this translation].

Two photographs 3 x 4 cm in size which faithfully portray the person for whom the alien identity card is being sought shall be appended to the application referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article.

The official may require the applicant for issuance of an alien identity card to show the following: permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY or approval of recognition of refugee status or the right of asylum or travel document or abstract from the birth records or a prior alien identity card or other document.

The alien identity card shall be issued on Form No 5 [not included in this translation].

Article 15

The words "permanently settled alien" shall be entered under the heading "Residing in the SFRY as ..." in the alien identity card being issued to an alien who

has been granted permanent settlement or the right of asylum and who has settled in the SFRY.

The word "refugee" shall be entered under the heading "Residing in the SFRY as ..." in the alien identity card being issued to an alien who has been granted refugee status.

The grounds of residence (academic study, specialized training, marriage to a Yugoslav national, etc.) shall be entered under the heading "Residing in the SFRY as ..." in the alien identity card being issued to the alien referred to in Article 84 of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals.

Article 16

Upon leaving the SFRY an alien who has been issued an alien identity card must deliver the alien identity card to the agency competent to issue the identity card at the place of his permanent or temporary residence in the SFRY.

Article 17

Alien identity cards which have been replaced, confiscated or returned shall be destroyed in the presence of a commission. An official record shall be kept of the destruction of alien identity cards.

If an alien identity card has been replaced or confiscated by an agency which did not issue that alien identity card, it shall so inform the agency which did issue the alien identity card for purposes of deletion from the records.

4. Notification of Loss or Disappearance of a Travel Document, an Alien Identity Card or Other Document Proving Identity

Article 18

In the notification made to the competent agency of the disappearance or loss of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity the foreign national must state the following: the circumstances under which he lost the document or under which the document disappeared; the type of document, the name of the agency which issued the document, and, if possible, the number of the document as well; the circumstances, time and place when the document was last used: place of temporary or permanent residence in the SFRY; the border crossing and time of his entry into the SFRY and the conveyance used, and also other circumstances and facts which might make it easier to find the lost or vanished document.

When reporting the disappearance or loss of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity the foreign national shall show to the official of the agency to whom the loss or disappearance of the document is being reported some other document by which the official can establish his identity.

Article 19

The official of the agency to which a foreigner has reported disappearance or loss of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity shall establish the identity of the foreigner and the legality of his sojourn in the SFRY and shall check the truthfulness of the facts stated in the report. Note shall be taken on establishment of the foreigner's identity, on ascertainment of the legality of his sojourn in the SFRY and on the check into the facts stated in the report.

If he cannot immediately establish the foreigner's identity and the legality of his sojourn in the SFRY and cannot immediately verify the truthfulness of the statements in the report, the official referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall order the foreigner to remain at the place where he has reported the loss or disappearance of the travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity until his identity is established.

Article 20

If a foreign national has reported the loss or disappearance of an alien travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, an alien identity card or tourist pass, the agency to which the loss or disappearance has been reported shall request from the agency which issued the lost or vanished travel document notice as to whether that agency issued the travel document or alien identity card or tourist pass whose loss or disappearance has been reported.

The competent agency to which the disappearance or loss of a travel document issued by a competent agency of the SFRY or alien identity card has been reported, after ascertaining the foreigner's identity, the legality of his residence in the SFRY and the truthfulness of the facts stated in the report, shall issue a document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the travel document and shall instruct him to apply to the competent agency of the SFRY for issuance of a new travel document or alien identity card or shall issue him the document if it is competent to issue it.

The competent agency to whom a foreigner has reported the loss or disappearance of a tourist pass shall issue the foreigner a certificate certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the tourist pass and shall instruct him to apply to the agency which issued the tourist pass for issuance of a new tourist pass or shall instruct him to apply to the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national for issuance of a travel document.

Article 21

The competent agency to which the disappearance or loss of a foreign travel document has been reported, upon establishing the foreigner's identity, the legality of his residence and the truthfulness of the facts stated in the report, shall issue to the foreigner a document certifying report of the loss or disappearance of the travel document and shall instruct him to apply to the diplomatic or consular mission of the country of which he is a national or other

foreign diplomatic or consular mission representing its interests for the issuance of a travel document.

The certificate certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of a foreign travel document shall serve the foreigner in traveling to the foreign diplomatic or consular mission and for sojourn at the place where the diplomatic or consular mission is located until he obtains a travel document.

Article 22

If during proceedings related to report of the loss or disappearance of a travel document, alien identity card or other document proving identity the vanished or lost document is found, it shall be delivered to the foreigner who reported its loss or disappearance, and procedures shall be terminated.

A foreign travel document which has been found and which could not be delivered to the foreigner named therein shall be delivered to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs for delivery to the diplomatic or consular mission of the foreign state which issued that document.

A document for a foreign national which has been found and which was issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, if it could not be delivered to the foreigner named therein, shall be delivered to the agency which issued that document.

Article 23

Should a foreign national find a travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, alien identity card or other document proving identity which he had lost or which had disappeared, he shall turn it over for cancellation to the agency which issued him another such document.

If a foreigner finds a foreign travel document which he had lost and which contains a valid Yugoslav visa, he shall submit it for cancellation of the Yugoslav visa to the agency which issued him a visa on a new travel document.

5. Issuance of Visas

Article 24

A foreign national shall apply for a visa in writing. The application shall be filed on Form No 6 [not included in this translation].

As an exception to the provision of Paragraph 1 of this article, the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent to monitor the crossing of the border may issue a visa to a foreigner on the basis of oral application.

The foreigner shall append to his application for issuance of a visa the travel document for which issuance of the visa is sought.

A foreigner who in the SFRY has lost his travel document or been left without it in some other manner, when applying for issuance of a visa on a new travel document, must append to that application the document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the travel document.

The foreigner referred to in Paragraph 3 of this article may submit application for issuance of the visa to the nearest agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of visas to foreigners.

Article 25

The official of the agency competent for issuance of visas to foreigners shall verify that the travel document on which the foreigner seeks issuance of a visa is in order and valid and shall check whether there are legal impediments to issuance of a visa.

The visa shall be issued by application of the prescribed stamp in the foreigner's travel document and shall be certified by the round seal and signature of the official of the agency issuing the visa.

The visa shall indicate the type of visa and shall state whether the visa is being issued for one, more than one or an unlimited number of trips, shall state the period of the visa's validity and shall give the date and place of its issuance. The number of the register of issued visas may also be entered in the visa.

The stamp of the visa is prescribed in Form No 7 [not included in this translation]. The visa stamp shall have its own number.

Article 26

Visas issued to foreigners may be of the following types:

- 1) entry-exit--for entry into the SFRY and return abroad;
- 2) exit-entry--for departure abroad and return to the SFRY;
- 3) exit--for departure from the SFRY;
- 4) transit--for crossing the territory of the SFRY.

Article 27

Visas issued by the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border shall be issued with the following period of validity:

- 1) to a foreigner to whom a diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY has issued a transit visa, when he is filing application for a visa for temporary residence--up to 3 months;

2) to a foreigner leaving the SFRY after expiration of the visa with which he entered the SFRY--up to 3 days;

3) to a foreigner who is embarking in a Yugoslav seaport or riverport to return to his country or to depart for some other foreign country--up to 7 days.

A transit visa issued by the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued for a period of validity up to 7 days.

Article 28

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border may, in the context of the provision of Article 22, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals, issue a visa to a national of a state with which the SFRY maintains diplomatic relations or who is coming to the SFRY for a tourist visit or who is crossing the territory of the SFRY.

The visa referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be issued only on a national travel document, for a single trip and with a period of validity up to 3 months.

Article 29

Visas issued by the agency in the republic or autonomous province shall be issued with the following period of validity:

1) to a foreigner leaving the SFRY after expiration of the validity of his visa--up to 7 days;

2) to a foreigner who has been granted permanent settlement in the SFRY and who is seeking a visa for departure abroad and return to the SFRY--up to 1 year;

3) to a foreigner who during temporary residence in the SFRY applies for a visa to depart abroad--with a period of validity which may not be longer than the period of validity of his temporary residence permit;

4) to the foreigner referred to in Article 9, Paragraph 2, of the Law on Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals--up to 6 months;

5) to a foreigner emigrating from the SFRY--up to 6 months;

6) to a foreigner who in the SFRY has lost his travel document or been left without it in some other manner and who is leaving the SFRY with a new travel document or alien travel permit--up to 3 months;

7) to a foreigner who has been issued an alien travel permit to emigrate from the SFRY--up to 6 months;

8) to a foreigner who has entered the SFRY on a tourist pass and the diplomatic or consular mission of the state of which he is a national has issued him a travel document--up to 3 months.

Article 30

The visa shall be canceled by stamping over the visa the word "CANCELED" in the foreigner's travel document.

III. Manner of Approval of Temporary Residence

Article 31

Temporary residence in the SFRY shall be permitted on the basis of the foreigner's written application. The application shall be submitted on Form No 8 [not included in this translation].

Application for extension of temporary residence shall be made before expiration of the period of temporary residence previously granted.

Article 32

A foreigner applying for the granting of temporary residence to attend school shall append to his application for issuance of the permit a certificate that he has the status of a pupil or fulltime student in an appropriate school or university in the SFRY.

Article 33

A foreigner applying for a temporary residence permit for purposes of specialized study, training or practice shall append to his application for the permit the certificate of the organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or community, or government agency that his specialized study, training or practice in that organization or community or agency has been approved.

Article 34

A foreign national applying for a temporary residence permit for scientific research must append to his application the permit of the competent agency in the republic or autonomous province that he may conduct scientific research in the SFRY.

Article 35

A foreigner seeking a temporary residence permit for purposes of employment must append to his application the statement of the organization or individual referred to in Article 1 of the Law on Conditions for Establishment of the Employment Relation With Foreign Nationals (SLUŽBENI LIST SFRJ, No 11, 1978) to the effect that it will establish an employment relation with the foreign national, if the foreigner obtains the permission of the competent agency to establish the employment relation.

Article 36

A foreigner applying for a temporary residence permit to carry on a particular professional activity requiring a special license shall append to his application the license for carrying on the particular professional activity which has been issued by the competent agency of the SFRY.

Article 37

When application for the temporary residence permit of the foreigner referred to in Articles 32 through 36 of this regulation is made by an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or community or government agency, the application shall also state the time and place of the foreigner's schooling, specialized study, training or practice, scientific research, employment, or practice of a particular professional activity, as well as the manner in which he has been assured means of support.

When application for a temporary residence permit is filed by the foreign national referred to in Articles 32 through 36 of this regulation, he must append to the application evidence that he has means of support or his support in the SFRY has been provided for in some other manner.

Certificate of the balance of the foreigner's bank account in a Yugoslav or foreign bank, the certificate of an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or community or government agency on the amount of his personal income or scholarship, or other document unquestionably proving the existence of the necessary means of support shall be taken as evidence in the context of Paragraph 2 of this article.

Article 38

The agency competent to issue the temporary residence permit to a foreigner shall before issuing the permit check whether the foreigner possesses a valid travel document and whether he has reported his sojourn to the competent agency in the SFRY, whether the prescribed appendices have been filed with the application and whether there are legal impediments to issuance of the permit.

The official of the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article may also require that the foreigner give information about the facts stated in the application which has been submitted.

Article 39

The temporary residence permit shall be issued by applying the p. 1 stamp to the foreigner's travel document.

The stamp of the temporary residence permit is prescribed in Form No 9 [not included in this translation].

IV. Manner of Approval of Permanent Settlement

Article 40

Permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be granted upon the foreigner's written application. The application shall be submitted on Form No 10 [not included in this translation].

The application for permission to settle permanently in the SFRY shall be filed in person by the foreign national. Application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY for children shall be filed by one of the parents or guardian.

Application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be submitted in one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia. The documents appended to the application which have been issued by the competent agency of the SFRY shall be submitted in the form of a certified copy, and foreign documents shall be submitted in the form of a certified translation into one of the languages of the nationalities of Yugoslavia. The official of the competent agency receiving the application may require that the foreigner show the originals of the documents whose copies or translations are appended.

The official of the agency competent to receive applications for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY may also call upon the foreigner to provide oral information on the facts alleged in the application.

Article 41

The foreigner must submit the following to accompany the application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY: abstract from the birth records, abstract from the marriage records (for married persons), health certificate, certificate on schooling and professional training and a statement proving that he possesses the means of support or that his support in the SFRY has been provided for in some other manner.

Article 42

The application for granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be submitted through the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides or through a diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY abroad.

Article 43

The agency which has received a foreigner's application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall verify the allegations in the application and shall deliver the application with its opinion to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs through the republic or provincial secretariat for internal affairs.

Article 44

The permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be issued on Form No 11 [not included in this translation].

Article 45

The permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY or the decision rejecting an application for the granting of permanent settlement in the SFRY shall be delivered to the foreigner through the agency to which he filed application or through the agency competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where he resides.

V. Manner of Recognition of the Right of Asylum

Article 46

The foreigner shall submit the application for recognition of the right of asylum in person through the agency and the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides or through a diplomatic or consular mission of the SFRY abroad.

The application referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall contain the following: last name and first name, date and place of birth, nationality and occupation of the applicant, place of permanent residence in the country from which he has been driven, information on the members of his immediate family and the place of their residence, the grounds on which recognition of the right of asylum is being sought, a statement as to whether he has already sought protection of another state and other circumstances important to the granting of the right of asylum.

A foreigner's application for the granting of the right of asylum may also be made on the basis of the official record of an interview.

Article 47

The agency which has received a foreigner's application for recognition of the right of asylum shall check the allegations in the application and shall deliver the application along with its opinion to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs through the republic or provincial secretariat for internal affairs.

Article 48

The decision of the competent agency granting the right of asylum or the decision rejecting the application for recognition of the right of asylum shall be delivered to the foreigner through the agency to which he filed application or through the agency competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides.

VI. Manner of Recognition of Refugee Status

Article 49

The foreigner shall file application for recognition of refugee status in person, immediately after crossing the border through the nearest agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners.

The application for recognition of refugee status shall contain the following: last and first name, date and place of birth, nationality, the foreigner's ethnic origin and occupation, domicile in the country from which he is fleeing, circumstances under which he has come to the SFRY (time, place and manner of crossing the border), information on members of the immediate family and their domicile, information on relatives in the SFRY (if there are any) and their domicile, grounds on which recognition of refugee status is being sought and indication as to whether he has sought the protection of any other foreign state.

A foreigner's application for recognition of refugee status may also be taken on the basis of the official record of an interview.

The agency which has received an application for recognition of refugee status shall designate the place in which the foreigner must reside until a decision is made on his application.

Article 50

The agency which has received a foreigner's application for recognition of refugee status shall verify the allegations in the application and shall deliver the application with its opinion to the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs through the republic or provincial secretariat for internal affairs.

Article 51

The decision granting refugee status or the decision rejecting the application for recognition of refugee status shall be delivered to the foreigner through the agency to which he submitted the application or through the agency competent for issuance of travel documents and visas to foreigners where the foreigner resides.

VII. Deportation of an Alien

Article 52

A stamp (Form No 12 [not included in this translation]) stating the date by which a foreigner must leave the territory of the SFRY and the period during which he may not again enter the SFRY shall be applied to the travel document of a foreigner against whom the safety measure of expulsion or the protective measure of deportation from the SFRY has been pronounced or whose residence in the SFRY has been canceled.

The stamp on cancellation of residence shall be applied to the travel document of the foreigner referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article after the decision of the competent agency becomes final.

The stamp on cancellation of residence shall be applied alongside the Yugoslav visa, but if a visa is not required under international treaty--alongside the stamp of the agency competent for monitoring the crossing of the border recording the foreigner's last entry into the SFRY.

VIII. Notification of Commencement of Residence and Commencement and Termination of Domicile

Article 53

Notification of commencement of residence or domicile or notification of termination of domicile or notification of change of street address shall be made on Form No 13 [not included in this translation].

The notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made by the foreigner in person. Any adult member of the family may make the notification for members of the foreigner's family.

The notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article must be neat and legibly filled out and must contain all the information prescribed for the form.

A certificate shall be issued to the foreigner certifying that notification has been made of commencement of residence or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address. The certificate shall be issued by the official of the competent agency or authorized person of the organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization furnishing lodgings to foreigners or authorized person of a tourist organization.

Article 54

In making notification of commencement of residence or change of street address the foreigner shall furnish the certificate and notification of prior residence or certificate on notification of termination of domicile.

Article 55

A person giving notice of commencement or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address shall enter information in the notification on the basis of one of these documents--foreign travel document, alien travel document issued by the competent agency of the SFRY, alien identity card, foreign document used as the basis for issuing a tourist pass to the foreigner, certificate stating temporary retention or confiscation of a travel document or certificate certifying that the loss or disappearance of a travel document has been reported.

Article 56

The authorized individual of an organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization or individual offering lodging to a foreigner or person whom the foreigner has come to visit shall give notice of commencement of residence for foreigners using lodgings in an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or of an individual offering lodgings to foreigners for compensation and for a foreigner who has come to pay a visit.

Article 57

Should the authorized individual of the organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization or an individual offering housing to foreigners find that the travel or other document of the foreigner used for making notification is incorrect or improper, that its period of validity has expired, that the visa or temporary residence permit or tourist pass has expired, he shall make a note in the notification of commencement of residence and shall immediately inform the agency competent for notification of commencement of residence.

The authorized person or individual referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall also be mindful of expiration of the temporary residence of a foreigner to whom he is providing lodgings and shall warn him in good time of the expiration of that period.

Article 58

Foreigners who come to the SFRY in foreign boats or yachts intended for recreation or sport and who use lodgings on those boats or yachts shall make notification of their residence only in a seaport or riverport in which crossing of the border is monitored upon their entry into the SFRY.

The notification referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be made through the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border.

Article 59

The official of the agency to which notification has been made of commencement of residence or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address of a foreigner shall verify the data entered in the notice and shall establish whether notification has been made within the period prescribed by law.

The official referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall check whether legal impediments exist to the foreigner's residence in the SFRY.

Article 60

Records on foreigners kept by an organization of associated labor, other self-managing organization or individual offering lodgings to foreigners--referred to as the book of foreigners--shall contain the following: last name and first name of the foreigner, nationality, type and number of travel or other document

of the foreigner, date up to which the foreigner has been granted residence in the SFRY; date and hour of the foreigner's arrival and departure.

The book of foreigners must be sewn and its pages numbered.

The date of commencement of the book's use shall be indicated on the title page of the book of foreigners, and the date of termination of keeping the book shall be entered on the last page.

Article 61

The competent agency shall certify the book of foreigners by entering the following on the last page of the book: "This book contains ____ (written out ____) pages. The book is being kept by ____ in ____ (town, street and number). It is registered as No ____." The seal of the agency shall be placed beneath this text, the text shall be certified and signed by the official.

Article 62

The book of foreigners shall be closed at the end of the calendar year or when all its pages have been filled.

The closing of a book of foreigners shall be noted on the page of the book beneath the last foreigner who has been entered or on the inside of the back cover if all the pages of the book have been filled.

Article 63

The agency competent for certifying the book of foreigners shall keep a register of the books of foreigners which it has certified. The register shall contain the following: the name of the organization of associated labor or other self-managing organization or last name and first name of the individual offering lodgings to foreigners and the date of the book's certification.

IX. Confiscation and Retention of Travel Documents of Foreigners

Article 64

The travel document of a foreigner which has been confiscated or temporarily retained shall remain in possession of the agency which issued the decision to confiscate the travel document or which issued the certificate on temporary retention of the travel document.

A travel document confiscated or temporarily retained shall be returned to the foreigner after cessation of the reasons for which the travel document was confiscated or temporarily retained.

If the security measure of expulsion from the country or the protective measure of deportation from the territory of the SFRY has been pronounced or if his residence in the SFRY has been canceled, the agency referred to in Paragraph 1 of

this article, when returning the foreign travel document to the foreigner, shall apply a stamp in the document stating that residence in the SFRY has been canceled.

Article 65

The confiscated or temporarily retained travel document of a foreigner who has been sent to serve a prison sentence shall be delivered to the penal-correction institution to which the foreigner has been committed to serve his sentence.

The penal-correction institution in which the foreigner is serving his prison sentence, before the sentence has been served, shall deliver the foreign travel document to the agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for issuing visas to foreigners where the institution is located so that a visa may be issued or statement entered on cancellation of residence in the SFRY.

X. Recordkeeping

Article 66

The agency in the republic or autonomous province competent for monitoring the crossing of the border shall keep records on the following:

- 1) on visas issued to foreigners,
- 2) on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners.

Records on visas issued to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, nationality, the type and number of the foreigner's travel document, the type of visa, the visa's date of issuance and the visa's expiration date.

Records on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the type and number of the foreigner's travel document, the type of measure undertaken, the date when the measure was undertaken and the legal grounds for taking the measure.

Article 67

The competent agency in the republic or autonomous province shall keep records on the following:

- 1) on travel documents and visas issued to foreigners (the refugee travel document, the stateless person travel document and the alien travel permit),
- 2) on permits issued for temporary residence in the SFRY,
- 3) on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners,
- 4) on travel documents or other documents of foreigners whose loss or disappearance has been reported,

- 5) on alien identity cards issued,
- 6) on notification of commencement of residence or domicile or termination of domicile or change of street address,
- 7) on permanently settled foreigners,
- 8) on foreigners granted refugee status in the SFRY.

Article 68

Records on travel documents issued to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the foreigner's residence in the SFRY began, the date of issuance of the document, the type and number of the travel document issued, and the expiration date of the document issued.

Records on visas issued to foreigners shall contain the following: the visa's date of issuance, the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the type and number of the travel document on which the visa has been issued and the type of visa and its expiration date.

Article 69

Records on permits issued for temporary residence in the SFRY shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the foreigner's place of residence in the SFRY, his street address, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the foreigner's residence in the SFRY began, the type and number of the foreigner's travel document, the reason why the permanent residence permit is being sought, the decision made on the application, the date of issuance of the permit and the period of validity of the temporary residence granted.

Article 70

Records on measures undertaken with respect to foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the measure was undertaken, the type of measure undertaken and the period in which the foreigner must leave the SFRY.

Article 71

Records on travel or other documents of foreigners whose loss or disappearance has been reported shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, his nationality, the reason for his residence in the SFRY, the date when the report was filed, the type, and if possible also the number, of the document whose loss or disappearance is being reported, the manner in which the foreigner's identity was established, and the number and date of issuance of the document certifying notification of the loss or disappearance of the document.

Article 72

Records on alien identity cards issued shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, the foreigner's date and place of birth, his nationality, the status in which the foreigner is residing in the SFRY, the date of issuance of the alien identity card, the serial number of the alien identity card issued and the period of validity of the alien identity card.

The record referred to in Paragraph 1 of this article shall be kept in the form of a card file. A photograph of the foreigner to whom an identity card has been issued shall be pasted on the card containing the information, and the prescribed fingerprint shall be fixed on the card as well. The card shall be signed by the foreigner and the authorized individual of the agency competent for issuing the identity card.

Article 73

Records on notification of commencement of residence or domicile (Article 67) or termination of domicile or change of street address shall be kept in the form of a card file. The notices which foreigners file with the competent agency on the prescribed form shall be entered in the card file.

Article 74

Records on permanently settled foreigners shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, the date, place and state of the foreigner's birth, his nationality, his occupation, the date of commencement of the foreigner's residence in the SFRY, the foreigner's domicile in the SFRY and his street address, the number and date of issuance of the permit for permanent settlement in the SFRY and the date and reason for deletion of the foreigner from the records (acquiring Yugoslav nationality, emigration, cancellation of his residence permit, death, etc.).

Article 75

Records on foreigners who have been granted refugee status in the SFRY shall contain the following: the foreigner's first and last name, the date, place and state of the foreigner's birth, his nationality, his occupation, the date when the foreigner's residence in the SFRY began, the foreigner's domicile in the SFRY and his street address, the number and date of the decision granting refugee status, the date and grounds for deleting the foreigner from the records (acquiring Yugoslav citizenship, emigration, cancellation of residence permit, death, etc.).

XI. Transitional and Final Provisions

Article 76

Forms Nos 1 through 13, as referred to in Articles 5, 7, 13, 14, 24, 25, 31, 39, 40, 44, 52 and 53 of this regulation have been printed to accompany this regulation [not included in this translation] and shall constitute an integral part of it.

Article 77

The present forms shall be used until the forms prescribed by this regulation are printed, but no later than 1 July 1982.

Article 78

The Regulation on Issuance of Documents for the Movement and Sojourn of Foreign Nationals in Yugoslavia and on the Forms of Those Documents (SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ, No 37, 1973) shall cease to be valid on the day when this regulation takes effect.

Article 79

This regulation shall take effect on the eighth day after publication in SLUZHBI LIST SFRJ.

Regulation No 26-1-3/48
Belgrade, 10 June 1981

Franjo Herljevic (signed)
Federal Secretary for
Internal Affairs

7045
CSO: 2800/329

END

END OF

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DATE FILMED

21 Sept 1981